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ST. MARY'S CITY COMMISSION
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St. Mary's City: The Village Crossroads, 1690's: Detail from a conjectural drawing

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

CONTENTS

- | | |
|--|--|
| | The St. Mary's City Commission |
| <i>Lois Green Carr</i> | "The Metropolis of Maryland": A Comment on Town Development Along the Tobacco Coast |
| <i>Garry Wheeler Stone</i> | St. John's: Archaeological Questions and Answers |
| <i>Russell R. Menard,
P. M. G. Harris, and
Lois Green Carr</i> | Opportunity and Inequality: The Distribution of Wealth on the Lower Western Shore of Maryland, 1638-1705 |
| <i>Cary Carson</i> | The "Virginia House" in Maryland |
| <i>George L. Miller</i> | A Tenant Farmer's Tableware: Nineteenth-Century Ceramics From Tabb's Purchase |
| <i>Lorena S. Walsh and
Russell R. Menard</i> | Death in the Chesapeake: Two Life Tables for Men in Early Colonial Maryland |
-

Reviews of Recent Books

Barnes, *Marriages and Deaths from the Maryland Gazette, 1727-1839*, by Jon Harlan Livezey • **Ketchum**, *The Winter Soldiers*, and **Martin**, *Men in Rebellion: Higher Governmental Leaders and the Coming of the American Revolution*, by Don Higginbotham • **Wakelyn**, *The Politics of a Literary Man: William Gilmore Simms*, by Charles H. Bohner • **Schroeder**, *Mr. Polk's War: American Opposition and Dissent, 1846-1848*, by Major L. Wilson • **Baker**, *The Politics of Continuity: Maryland Political Parties from 1858 to 1870*, by Mary Catherine Kahl • **Davis**, *Immigrants, Baptists, and the Protestant Mind in America*, by James J. Thompson, Jr. • **Harlan**, *Booker T. Washington: The Making of a Black Leader, 1856-1901*, by Raymond Gavins • **Billington**, *Frederick Jackson Turner: Historian, Scholar, Teacher*, by John T. Hubbell • **Sobel**, *The Money Manias: The Era of Great Speculation in America, 1770-1970*, by Forrest McDonald • **Ahlstrom**, *A Religious History of the American People*, by John B. Boles.

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Graphics provided by the St. Mary's City Commission

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A Quarterly

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The St. Mary's City Commission

LATE IN MARCH 1634 the colonists who came to Maryland on the *Ark* and the *Dove* found "a most convenient harbour, and pleasant Country lying on each side." They landed and built, writing home, "our towne we call St. Maries." Here for sixty-one years was the capital of Maryland.

For over a century Marylanders, through their General Assembly, have commemorated this historic site. An 1840 act provided for the establishment of St. Mary's Female Seminary as a living monument to the birthplace of the state and religious liberty. During Maryland's Tricentennial a replica of the third (1676) state house was constructed in a small park. In 1966 the St. Mary's City Commission was created to "preserve, develop, and maintain . . . historic St. Mary's City and its environs."

The St. Mary's City Commission plans an indoor and outdoor museum that will tell how Englishmen settled Maryland, and how a colony of immigrants became a provincial society which in turn played its part in the growth of a new nation. Some of the simplest questions basic to such an enterprise are among the hardest to answer. How long could an immigrant to seventeenth-century Maryland expect to live? Could he expect to marry and raise a family and would he see his children mature? What skills, institutions, habits, hopes would he bring with him to build a new life and how would these change in his new environment? How would he prosper and what would be the conditions, local and imperial, of failure or success? How and why would opportunities and life styles of his children and grandchildren and their descendants resemble or differ from his? The Commission is undertaking historical and archaeological studies that will help to answer such questions. The following essays offer some of the very early results of this inquiry.*

* The St. Mary's City Commission gratefully acknowledges financial assistance from the National Endowment for the Humanities (Grant no. RO-6228-72-468), the National Science Foundation (Grant no. GS-32272), The Rockefeller Foundation, the William H. Donner Foundation, Inc., the Jacob and Anita France Foundation, and the Steuart Petroleum Company.

“The Metropolis of Maryland”: A Comment on Town Development Along the Tobacco Coast

LOIS GREEN CARR

VIRGINIANS “HAVE NOT any one Place of Cohabitation among them, that may reasonably bear the Name of a Town,” wrote Robert Beverley about 1704. Except for centers of government, neither Virginia nor Maryland produced towns in the seventeenth century. Maryland’s seventeenth-century capital was the St. Mary’s townland, where the offices of government were located until 1695, but no clustered settlement developed there until after 1660, and this village disappeared once the provincial government had moved. In 1678 the Third Lord Baltimore wrote the Lords of Trade that apart from St. Mary’s “wee have none That are called or can be called Townes. . . . In most places There are not ffifty houses in the space of Thirty Myles.”¹

What did Beverley or Calvert conceive a town to be? Several contemporary discussions give some idea. A town was a clustered settlement, but a clustered settlement did not necessarily constitute a town. One observer complained that Jamestown, Virginia, “deserves not the name of a town” because it consisted mostly of ordinaries to serve visitors from elsewhere. Most comments presumed a town to be a commercial center, where ships would come, craftsmen would congregate, and goods would be sold. Some observers recognized that schools and churches flourished more readily in towns, but their most critical functions were clearly thought to be economic.²

The author wishes to acknowledge her debt to the pioneering work of Dr. Henry Chandlee Forman in the study of St. Mary’s City; and to thank her colleague Russell R. Menard for his contributions to the argument presented.

¹ Robert Beverley, *The History and Present State of Virginia*, Louis B. Wright, ed. (Charlottesville, Va., 1947), pp. 57–58; *Archives of Maryland*, William Hand Browne, et al., eds. (72 vols. to date: Baltimore, 1883–), V, p. 266; hereafter cited as *Maryland Archives*.

² Stanley Pargellis, ed., “The Indians of Virginia, 1689”, *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., XVI (1959), p. 231; Henry Hartwell, James Blair, and Edward Chilton, *The Present State of Virginia and the College*, Hunter Dickinson Farish, ed. (Charlottesville, Va., 1940), pp. 9–13; *The Reverend John Clayton, A Parson with a Scientific Mind: His Scientific Writings and Other Related Papers*, Edmund Berkeley and Dorothy Smith Berkeley, eds. (Charlottesville, Va., 1965), p. 53; [Francis Makemie], *A Plain and Friendly Perswasive to the Inhabitants of Virginia and Maryland for Promoting Towns and Cohabitation, By a Well-Wisher to Both Governments* (London, 1705), reprinted in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, IV (1897), pp. 252–71.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century, the assemblies of Maryland and Virginia sought to create towns by encouragement and command, but with very limited success. The story of St. Mary's City may shed some light on why towns failed to appear in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake. This essay describes the birth and death of this provincial capital and offers an argument to explain not only its history but the absence of histories for other towns.

Late in March 1634 Leonard Calvert and about 140 prospective colonists sailed into the Potomac River in search of a suitable place to "plant." The vessels anchored at St. Clement's Island, while Governor Calvert explored the Potomac River to the north. The numerous inlets and tributaries offered many potential sites, but he was seeking fields already cleared by Indians so that the English could quickly sow crops. He also hoped to gain the cooperation of the Indian chief who exercised hegemony in the area, for the success of the whole enterprise depended upon friendly Indian neighbors. At Piscataway, in a palisaded Indian town, Calvert found the "emperor," and gained his consent to settle in the area. The Indians were in alarm; according to the Jesuit Father Andrew White, a member of the expedition, "500 bowmen came to the waterside." But their leader evidently saw in the English a protection against the fierce Susquehannocks to the north and against marauding bands of Iroquois from the Five Nations in eastern New York. Only a few years before, a band of "Senecas" had massacred the inhabitants of nearby Moyoane, a Piscataway village that had existed for at least 300 years.³

Leonard Calvert then accepted the guidance of Captain Henry Fleet, a Virginia trader, who led him to a village of the Yoacomico Indians on a tributary of the Potomac. Here was an ideal spot. Jerome Hawley, another "first adventurer," described it as "a very commodious situation for a Towne, in regard the land is good, the ayre wholesome and pleasant, the River affords a safe harbour for ships of any burthen, and a very bould shoare; fresh water, and wood there is in great plenty, and the place so naturally fortified, as with little difficultie it will be defended from any enimie." Indians had cleared the fields but were preparing to remove further north nearer allied tribes for fear of Susquehannock raids. The Indian "king" agreed that part of the village would remove at once and the rest would follow the next year.⁴

The site was on the east bank of the St. Mary's River about six miles from the Potomac. Father White speaks of "2 excellent bayes," which are easily identified on a present-day map as formed by Horseshoe, Church, and Chancellor's points. [See Map 1.] Here, according to Leonard Calvert, "we have seated ourselues, wthin one halfe

³ "A Briefe Relation of the Voyage unto Maryland, by Father Andrew White, 1634," in *Narratives of Early Maryland, 1633-1684*, Clayton Colman Hall, ed. (New York, 1910), pp. 40-42; Robert C. Stephenson and Alice L. Ferguson, *The Accokeek Creek Site, A Middle-Atlantic Seaborad Culture Sequence*, Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, *Anthropological Papers*, No. 20 (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1963), p. 5.

⁴ *A Relation of Maryland; Together, With A Map of the Country . . .* (London, 1635), reprinted in *Narratives of Early Maryland*, pp. 72-74. Jerome Hawley's co-authorship with John Lewger is established in L. Leon Bernard, "Some New Light on the Early Years of the Baltimore Plantation," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLIV (1949), p. 100. Since Hawley traveled with the expedition and Lewger did not, the description of the site is attributed to Hawley.

mile of the river, wthin a pallizado of one hundred and twentie yarde square, wth fower flanks." Aerial photographs taken for the St. Mary's City Commission show signs of such a structure not far from the river bank a little south of Church Point. The site is within the Governor's Field, which was described in a survey of 1640 as lying "nearest together about the fort of St. Maryes." The location also fits the slender clues of the early narratives, the only other documentary evidence available. Both Leonard Calvert and Father White state that the fort stood a half mile from the river or the water. Given the high steep bank of Church Point, the easiest place to land stores was near the mouth of Mill Creek to the north, whence the settlers had an easy haul south half a mile across the point to the conjectured site on the nearest level ground.⁵ If archaeological excavations prove that the pallisade was here, they will also provide knowledge otherwise unobtainable about the earliest days of the colony.

Lord Baltimore instructed his first expedition to build a clustered settlement with houses "neere adjoyning one to another and for that purpose to cause streets to be marked out where they intend to place the towne and to oblige every man to buyld one by another according to that rule."⁶ Such was not the result. The men and handful of women lived in rough habitations within the fort at first, but these structures were evidently not permanent. By 1637, when the first surviving colony records begin, the settlers had scattered. Although there were occasional alarms, relations with the Indians were sufficiently peaceful to make concentration of settlement in or near the fort unnecessary.⁷

The fort itself evidently soon decayed. In 1645 the ship captain Richard Ingle raided St. Mary's and temporarily demoralized the Calvert settlement—colonists later referred to "the plundering year"—but the fort played no part. At Leonard Calvert's death early in 1647 the only structure that was surely standing on the Governor's Field was his "large fram'd howse."⁸

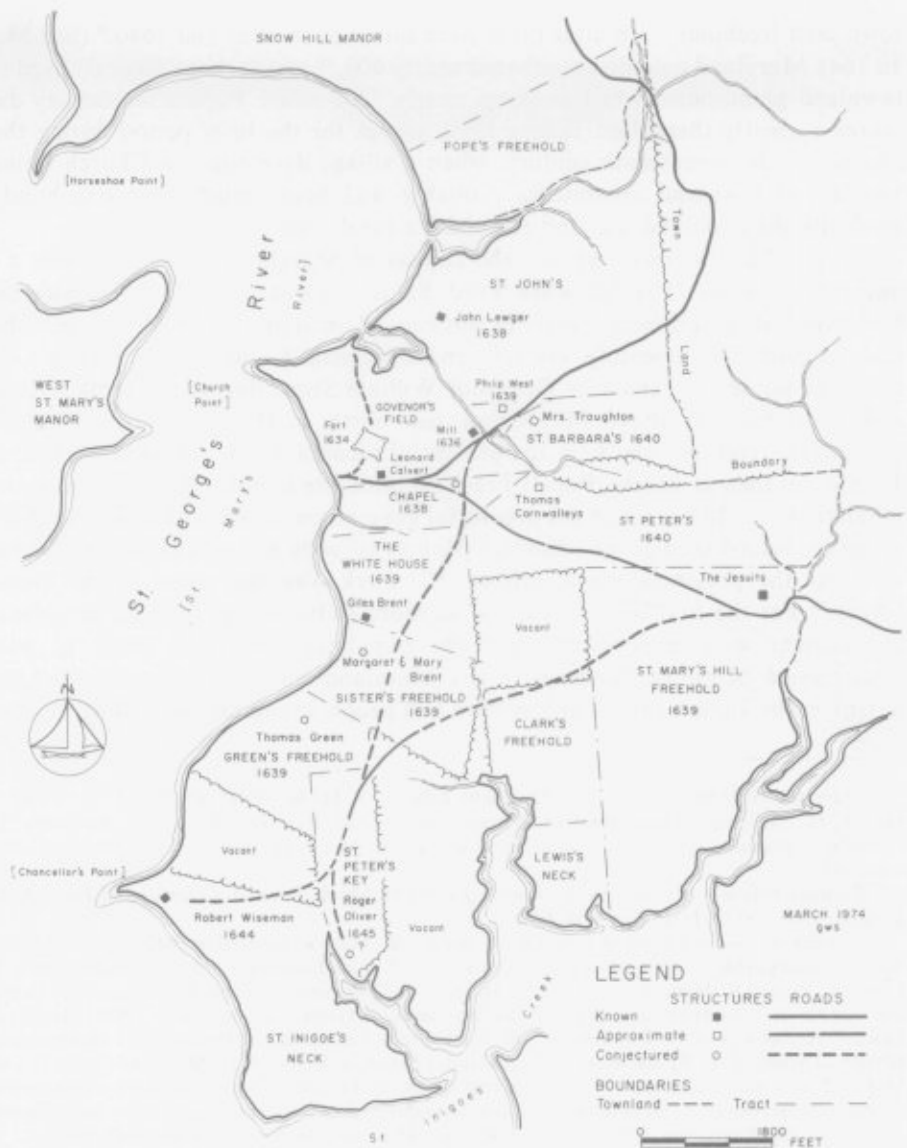
Although no town was built, the early leaders were encouraged to establish houses and farms on "the fields of St. Maries," which were specifically granted as townland. At least ten dwellings, a forge, a mill, and a Catholic chapel were scattered on thirteen

⁵ *The Calvert Papers, Number Three*, Maryland Historical Society, *Fund Publication No. 35* (Baltimore, 1899), p. 21; "A Briefe Relation of the Voyage unto Maryland," p. 42; Patent Liber 1, f. 121, ms., Hall of Records, Annapolis. For a detailed discussion of the documentary evidence concerning the landing place and site of the fort, see Lois Green Carr, "The Founding of St. Mary's City," *The Smithsonian Journal of History*, III (1968-69), pp. 77-100.

⁶ "Instructions to the Colonists by Lord Baltimore, 1633," in *Narratives of Early Maryland*, pp. 21-22.

⁷ Nothing in the earliest records of the assembly or council suggests any concentration of settlement in or near the fort. Men who attended the assembly of 1637/8 came from several areas. *Maryland Archives*, I, pp. 1-3. Tract Map of St. Mary's County, 1642, ms., St. Mary's City Commission, prepared by Russell R. Menard, combined with tax-lists recorded for that year (*Maryland Archives*, I, pp. 142-46; 111, pp. 120, 123-26) shows how population was scattered in that year.

⁸ The last mention of the fort in any surviving record was on September 18, 1644. *Ibid.*, III, 171, 187. The assembly met in the fort several times from January 1638 through March 1642. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 1, 2, 27-28, 32, 95, 113, 114, 116. Nathan C. Hale, *Virginia Venturer: A Historical Biography of William Claiborne, 1600-1677* (Richmond, Va., 1951), pp. 259-69 describes Ingle's rebellion. See also *Maryland Archives*, IV, pp. 422-24. Leonard Calvert's inventory lists his house. *Ibid.*, p. 321.



THE ST. MARY'S TOWNLANDS, 1640-47

Map 1: The tract map is based on original surveys superimposed on a recent topographical map created from aerial surveys. Dates of structures reflect the earliest mention in the records.

town land freeholds soon after these were surveyed in 1639 and 1640.⁹ (See Map 1.) In 1641 Maryland colonists numbered nearly 400,¹⁰ and perhaps 50 or 60 lived on the townland plantations, which took up nearly 1200 acres. Population density did not increase greatly thereafter. Before 1910, except for the brief period during the last quarter of the seventeenth century, when a village developed on Church Point, the number of townland inhabitants probably was never much over one hundred.¹¹ Basically the townland was and remained a rural area.

The St. Mary's townland was the capital of Maryland until 1695, with a brief interruption from 1654–58, when Lord Baltimore lost control of the government. Until 1662 all governmental activity was carried on in private dwellings, once the fort had decayed. The assembly, council, and Provincial Court usually met in Leonard Calvert's house—occupied by Governor William Stone during the 1650's—or in St. John's on the hill above Mill Creek just north of the Governor's Field.¹² The provincial secretary, who kept the provincial records, lived and had his office at St. John's and then at nearby Pope's Freehold until late in 1661. Such business as most inhabitants would have with the provincial government was handled in this office. The secretary issued land grants, handled probate of wills and administration of estates, and was the provincial naval officer. His clerk was also clerk of the Provincial Court.¹³ For the first twenty years or so more elaborate facilities to administer the government were unnecessary and the population was too small to pay for construction of public buildings. Early Maryland was a fragile settlement, nearly destroyed by Ingle's raid, and less than 600 people inhabited the colony at any time

⁹ *Maryland Archives*, IV, pp. 35, 233; Patent Liber 1, ff. 31–34, 39, 41–42, 46, 52–53, 67–68, 71–72, 115–16, 121, 219, ms., Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland; Rent Roll 0, f. 3, ms. photocopy, Hall of Records, Annapolis. All mss. hereafter cited are at the Maryland Hall of Records unless otherwise indicated.

¹⁰ Thomas Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Colonial and Federal* (4 vols.: London, 1907–1917), Text, Part I, p. 496.

¹¹ Density in 1642 is estimated from the tax list for St. Mary's Hundred in 1642, the Tract Map of St. Mary's County, 1642 (both cited in note 7) and a rent roll of land owners in 1642 compiled from the Patent Libers by Russell R. Menard (ms. copy, St. Mary's City Commission). Later densities are estimated from the number of households. For the 18th century, see Lois Green Carr, J. Glenn Little, Stephen Israel, *Salvage Archeology of a Dwelling on the John Hicks Leasehold, A Preliminary Archeological and Historical Study of the Residents of the Post-Capital Era of St. Mary's City, Maryland* (1969–71), ms., St. Mary's City Commission, pp. 16–17. Nineteenth-century valuations which show the number of tenant farms on properties of major landowners of the townland have contributed to later estimates of density. St. Mary's County Valuations, 1807–26, ff. 44–45 (Arnold Leigh), 94–95 (James Broome), mss.

¹² See *Maryland Archives*, I (journals of the assembly), III (journals of the council), and IV, X, and XLI (proceedings of the Provincial Court), which usually show the place of meeting for each session of assembly, council, and court. References to East St. Mary's are to the Governor's Field. Rent Roll 0, f. 1.

¹³ Incumbents were John Lewger—who built and lived at St. John's—Thomas Hatton, and Philip Calvert. Hatton acquired Pope's Freehold on his arrival in 1649, and his heirs sold it to Philip Calvert. Donnell M. Owings, *His Lordship's Patronage, Offices of Profit in Colonial Maryland*, Maryland Historical Society Studies in History No. 1 (Baltimore, 1953), pp. 124–25; Patent Liber 1, ff. 35–37; 2, ff. 611–12; Rent Roll 0, f. 5. For the duties of the secretary, see Owings, *His Lordship's Patronage*, pp. 30, 39, 55, 63.

before 1648. Steady growth from that time, however, brought increasing public business and a need for its better accommodation.¹⁴

In 1662 the assembly gave its attention to the problem. The Governor and upper house debated the possibility of building elsewhere a structure to house provincial offices, courts, and assemblies, but there was no location obviously superior to the townland, where the Governor was already established. The possibility of moving to His Lordship's manor on the Patuxent was taken seriously but abandoned because a second house would be necessary to accommodate the governor and council. Instead, the province purchased the Governor's Field and what was probably Leonard Calvert's house for the use of the "country" and began a building program that for the moment committed the provincial government to the site on the St. Mary's River.¹⁵

By the early 1660's settlement was spreading up the Bay and across it to the Eastern Shore, and men who had business at the capital needed food and lodging. The Country's House, as Leonard Calvert's house came to be called, was an ordinary, or inn, as well as a state house until 1666, when the first building to be devoted exclusively to public purposes was finished. This was a state house, council chamber, and office for the secretary. The Country's House then became exclusively an ordinary.¹⁶ Lt. William Smith, a "Carpenter by Trade," leased the Country's House plus an additional three acres, which he called Smith's Town Land. Here he built another ordinary and at least one more house before his death in 1668. A cluster of buildings was finally coming into being.¹⁷

In recognition of these developments and for further encouragement, Governor Charles Calvert granted charters to St. Mary's City in 1668 and 1671; these incorporated one square mile into a city and created a mayor, board of aldermen, and common council, with powers to keep courts and make by-laws. The charter of 1671 also gave freemen of the town the privilege of electing two delegates to the assembly, although not because there was any large population to deserve the privilege. Governor Calvert used this device to ensure election of a particular supporter to the assembly called that year.¹⁸ The year following the Governor and five other leading figures of the colony, four of them also aldermen of the city, took up adjacent lots on what they called Aldermanbury Street, on the south side of Church Point near the river. Over the next six years, five additional lots were surveyed, one at the end of Aldermanbury Street, one near the "old mill dam," the others along Middle Street, which was evidently the path from the Country's House to a landing in Mill Creek.

¹⁴ Russell R. Menard, *The Growth of Population in Early Colonial Maryland, 1631-1712*, ms. report, St. Mary's City Commission, Figure 2.

¹⁵ *Maryland Archives*, I, pp. 434-36.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 538; II, pp. 34, 138, 371; III, 459, 465, 492, 522, 556; *The Country's House*, ms. report, St. Mary's City Commission.

¹⁷ Patent Liber 10, ff. 350-52; *Testamentary Proceedings* 3, f. 136, ms. William Smith, ms. report, St. Mary's City Commission.

¹⁸ *Maryland Archives*, LI, pp. 383-90, 567-70; *The Calvert Papers, Number One*, Maryland Historical Society, *Fund Publication No. 28* (Baltimore, 1889), pp. 265-66.

[See Map 2.] At least four of these eleven lots had houses by 1678.¹⁹ At the same time the province built a jail and a new and grander state house of brick on the tip of Church Point.²⁰

Nevertheless, the "city" of 1678 was hardly a dense settlement, even if all the lots were improved, and it is known that at least one was not. Spread over the 100 acres of the Governor's Field were at most 18 structures, not including outbuildings, and perhaps not more than 11. Three of these were devoted to public uses. Most of the others were inns—4 or 5—or lodgings and offices for clerks and lawyers, all essential to a seat of government.²¹ Also within the square mile were the Roman Catholic chapel, a solid brick building just south of the Governor's Field,²² and several properties that belonged to members of the Calvert family. Governor Charles Calvert (the Third Lord Baltimore by 1678) had acquired St. John's in 1661 and had lived there until 1667. During the 1670's it was alternately leased as an ordinary or used for provincial offices.²³ Pope's Freehold to the north was the home of Chancellor Philip Calvert (half-uncle of Charles), who was also mayor of St. Mary's City. In 1678 he was constructing a "Great House" of brick on St. Peter's Freehold southeast of the Governor's Field, to which he would move the following year. Between this tract and St. John's was St. Barbara's Freehold, possibly also with a house and also owned by Philip Calvert.²⁴ Clearly there was work for carpenters and masons as the town and its public buildings rose, but there are no other signs of artisans. Nor were there lots and thus buildings in addition to those so far discovered in the records. The council noted in 1678 that only eleven lots had been granted to private individuals.²⁵ Sixteen years of development had produced a government center, badly overcrowded two or three times a year when the Provincial Court or assembly met, but with few permanent inhabitants.

In describing his capital to the Lords of Trade in 1678, Charles Calvert clearly considered that it encompassed the whole townland area, not just the square mile of

¹⁹ Patent Liber 17, ff. 361–63; 19, ff. 311, 462–63; 20, f. 49, 269–70, 299–300.

²⁰ *Maryland Archives*, II, pp. 139, 404–06; Henry Chandlee Forman, *Jamestown and St. Mary's, Buried Cities of Romance* (Baltimore, 1938) pp. 285–88, 293–95.

²¹ Thomas Notley offered his unimproved lot to the use of the country in 1678. *Maryland Archives*, VII, p. 31. For structures on Smith's Townland, see Testamentary Proceedings 3, f. 136; Provincial Court Deeds, WRC no. I, ff. 605–10; for those on other lots, see Patent Liber 17, f. 156; 19, ff., 311, 443. The assembly proceedings show payments to innkeepers. *Maryland Archives*, II, pp. 227–34, 303–305, 339, 415–17, 469–70, 551–55; VII, pp. 87–89.

²² Forman, *Jamestown and St. Mary's*, pp. 250–51.

²³ Patent Liber 5, f. 421; *Calvert Papers, Number One*, pp. 258–59; *Maryland Archives*, LI, p. 121; V, pp. 21, 312, 542; LXV, p. 636; XV, pp. 44, 50, 76, 230; LXVI, p. 49; II, p. 432; LXX, p. 40; Testamentary Proceedings 14, f. 124.

²⁴ Rent Roll 0, f. 5; *Maryland Archives*, LI, pp. 383, 567. I date the Great House at St. Peter's to 1678–79 because Philip Calvert signed himself in documents as of Pope's Freehold until 1679, then as of St. Peter's (*ibid.*, LXV, p. 639; Provincial Court Deeds, WRC no. 1, ff. 27, 92, ms.) The records contain several references to the Chancellor's house at St. Peter's thereafter (*Maryland Archives*, XVII, p. 113; LXX, p. 19; XX, pp. 307–08.) Before then the only mention of a house of any kind is in a survey of St. Barbara's made in 1640 (Patent Liber 1, ff. 65–66). Philip Calvert acquired St. Peter's Freehold in 1664 (*ibid.*, 6, ff. 280–82). Surely he would have dwelled in the Great House from then had it been in existence.

²⁵ *Maryland Archives*, VII, pp. 30–31.

the city. "The principall place or Towne," he wrote, "is called s^t Maryes where the Generall Assemblie and Provinciaall Court are kept and whither all Shipps Tradeing there doe in the first place Resort But it cann hardly be call'd a Towne It beeing in Length by the Water about five Myles and in Bredth upwards towards the Land not above one Myle," in all which space stood no more than thirty houses, including those on the Governor's Field.²⁶ The "city" was still too undeveloped to be described as the principal town.

Although the number of residents was still very small at the end of the 1670's, St. Mary's City was attracting increasing numbers of visitors. The population of Maryland had more than tripled during the two preceding decades. Several days a week people came singly and in groups to the secretary's office in the new brick state house—before 1676 in its smaller frame predecessor—to record or sell proofs of right to land, take up warrants for surveys, or obtain a land patent. Others came to the prerogative office, separated from the secretary's office in 1673, to probate wills, obtain grants of administration, file inventories, or present accounts.²⁷ Most people came from a distance and stopped at least for a pottle of cider or a "dyett." Many must have needed overnight accommodations. Business was regular for the ordinary keeper.

Shipping in the St. Mary's River also brought some activity, although not as much as Charles Calvert's statement to the Lords of Trade would imply. Until 1676, all ships trading to Maryland—possibly 40 to 50 during the 1670's²⁸—had theoretically cleared at St. Mary's to prove compliance with the Navigation Acts and to pay royal and provincial duties, but many of these vessels had not actually sailed into the St. Mary's River. From at least 1671, the provincial naval officer had appointed deputies for the head of the bay and the lower Eastern Shore, and the royal customs collector, who first appeared in 1673, had probably done likewise. The creation in 1676 of three separate naval offices must have reflected already existing practice. Nor did all ships trading into the Potomac River call at St. Mary's City. Captains could come by small boat or overland from anchorages elsewhere. Actual trading of goods or servants for tobacco, furthermore, was conducted at landings scattered all over the province. Actions at law concerning trade clearly indicate that St. Mary's City did not provide centralized economic functions. On the other hand, some trading for the immediate

²⁶ *Ibid.*, V, pp. 265–66.

²⁷ Menard, *The Population of Early Colonial Maryland*, Figure 2. Any volume of the *Patent Libers or Testamentary Proceedings* for the 1670's will demonstrate the daily traffic in and out of the offices.

²⁸ The calculation was made by computing the mean yearly tobacco exported from the Chesapeake in the 1670's from data given in U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957* (Washington, D.C., 1960), p. 766; dividing this by the number of pounds of tobacco a ship carried in the 1690's, computed from the mean number of ships that traded into Maryland, 1692–99, and the mean pounds of tobacco shipped from Maryland, 1692–99 (allowing 400 pounds per hogshead) as given in Margaret Shove Morriss, *Colonial Trade of Maryland, 1689–1715*, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series XXXII, no. 1 (Baltimore, 1914), pp. 32–33, 85–86; and allowing 36% of the number of ships so calculated to Maryland. Morriss found that Maryland shipped 36% of tobacco exported from the Chesapeake in the 1690's. The results suggest 49 ships a year, but Maryland may not have had so large a share of the trade in the 1670's as she had by the 1690's.

area doubtless was conducted there, and one of the town lots probably had a store. Any ship captain who brought in servants, regardless of where his ship had cleared, would claim the headrights at the secretary's office. The secretary's clerk thrived on speculation in claims to land.²⁹

During the 1680's, St. Mary's City shrank in area but may have experienced increased development. It was generally a time of depression and in 1683 and 1684 the assembly passed town acts "for the Advancement of Trade," which proved generally ineffective but may have benefited St. Mary's City to some degree. The acts established towns in specific places, each to be one hundred acres laid out in one hundred lots, and these towns were to be the sole places for loading and unloading ships. St. Mary's City was to be the town on the St. Mary's River, and provision was specifically made to allow one hundred town lots in addition to those already taken up. The acts in effect reduced the square-mile area mentioned in the city charter to these hundred and some odd acres, for Philip Calvert's house on St. Peter's was described as in the city in 1681 but "near" it twelve years later.³⁰

How many of the new lots were taken up and developed is unknown and is likely to remain so, at least until the archaeologists' work is finished; the town acts required that the town clerk record all land transactions, and his records have not survived. However, the provincial records contain some suggestions of increased activity. In 1686 Councillor William Digges purchased from the Jesuits six acres on the river by the southwest corner of the city, along with lots 43 and 44, which were improved with the required twenty-foot-square houses; he also purchased a lease on the adjacent Smith's Town Land of a building used formerly as lawyer's offices. It seems likely that he planned and perhaps carried on some sort of waterfront enterprise connected with shipping which probably included a store. At the same time, Digges and a local attorney, Anthony Underwood, conducted procedures to condemn land for a mill on Mill Creek, where a mill had stood in 1640 and an "old mill dam" still remained. The first artisan to be identified as a city resident also arrived, doubtless taking advantage of tax exemptions offered to encourage craftsmen to settle in towns. He was the printer William Nuthead, who began to produce legal forms for the use of the Land Office, Prerogative Office, and the clerk of the Provincial Court. In addition, a much larger inn than any in operation earlier was functioning by 1688.³¹

²⁹ Owings, *His Lordship's Patronage*, pp. 63, 95-96. William Fitzhugh of Virginia wrote a ship captain in Maryland that once his ship was loaded he could "take a horse, go up to the Collector, enter your boat & so proceed in your business." *William Fitzhugh and His Chesapeake World*, Richard Beale Davis, ed. (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1963), p. 161. Any Patent Liber before 1680 shows that the clerks bought and sold profits of right in quantity.

³⁰ Acts 1683, c. 5, *Maryland Archives*, VII, pp. 609-19; Acts 1684, c.2, XIII, pp. 118-19; LXX, p. 19; VIII, p. 458.

³¹ Provincial Court Deeds, WRC no. 1, ff. 605-10; Patent Liber 22, f. 255; Lawrence C. Wroth, "The St. Mary's City Press, A New Chronology of American Printing," *The Colophon*, New Series (1936), pp. 333-57. In 1688 Philip Lynes supplied twice as many servants as did his competitors to wait upon the assembly and received more than twice the amount for accommodations paid to other innkeepers, some of whom had been established far longer. *Maryland Archives*, XIII, pp. 225-27.

The only surviving record of the St. Mary's City government is the set of by-laws the mayor's court passed in August of 1685.³² These suggest a certain liveliness. "Notice being taken by this Court of the greate debaucheries and disorders that are committed in this City on Sundays by severall psons, by drinking, gameing, sweareing, . . . It is . . . hereby enacted . . . that noe ordinary keeper within this City shall from hence forth sell . . . upon Sundayes, Any wine, brandy, Rumm, or other dramms or strong liquors to any pson or psons wtsoever, Travellers strangers and sick people onely excepted and to them spareingly . . . Henceforth forward, there shall be noe manner of gameing at Cards, Dice, nine pinns, or any other Game whatsoever upon Sundayes." But drinking and gaming were not otherwise forbidden.

The city charter granted the mayor's court the right to hold a weekly market and a yearly fair, complete with a court of pie powder, but the by-laws indicate no such activity. They give the clerk of the mayor's court fees and responsibility for recording sales or transfers of city lots. Surely the activity of a market would have created a similar need for regulation. Provisions dealt with maintenance of the "severall roads and high waies leading to, in, and about the said City" and with "reparation of the Landing," but nothing is said of a market place, despite mention in the town act of 1684 of space set aside for a market. The city must not have stimulated much production or sale of local products. Its commerce, such as it was, centered on overseas markets for tobacco and importation of foreign goods. Such business must have been transacted in the store of a merchant or factor, as at other landings, rather than in an open market.

The surviving records provide few clues to the appearance of the village. The by-laws ordered all housekeepers to "provide to their Chimneys two ladders, One Twenty four foote, and the other twelve foote in length" and to see that "all Chimneys . . . be . . . lathed, filled, dawb'd and plaistered." Most chimneys evidently were not of brick, greatly increasing the danger of fire. Probably the inn William Smith had built, which burned in 1678, had had such a wattle and daub chimney.³³ The by-laws also complained that hogs roamed freely, "killing the Poultry, rooteing up the Gardens, and fields," and the city fathers ruled that "noe person . . . for the future raise or keepe, any hoggs piggs, Sowes or Barrowes, without they be kept in a good & sufficient Hogg pen." The city constable was to impound any hogs found wandering. Other scraps of evidence tell that palings surrounded orchards and vegetable gardens. Acts of Assembly required that every ordinary in the city offer shelter to at least twenty horses. Hence stables must have been adjuncts of the four or five inns that functioned from the mid-1670's.³⁴ Other houses may not have had such outbuildings.

³² *Ibid.*, XVII, pp. 418-23.

³³ William Smith was supposed to build an ordinary in return for the privilege of leasing Smith's Town Land, and he had in fact built two houses by 1668. Garrett Van Swearingen had a tavern on the Smith's Town Land which burned in 1678. *Ibid.*, II, 50-51; Testamentary Proceedings 3, f. 136; Patent Liber 20, ff. 48-49.

³⁴ Acts 1676, c.10, *Maryland Archives*, II, p. 561; Acts 1678, c. 5, VII, p. 67.

LEGEND

STRUCTURES & LOTS LOCATED

- By Archaeology
 [] Approximately } by Documentary
 [] Conjecturally } Research
 (Street & Landings, Approximate)
 ... Springs

0 200 400
FEET

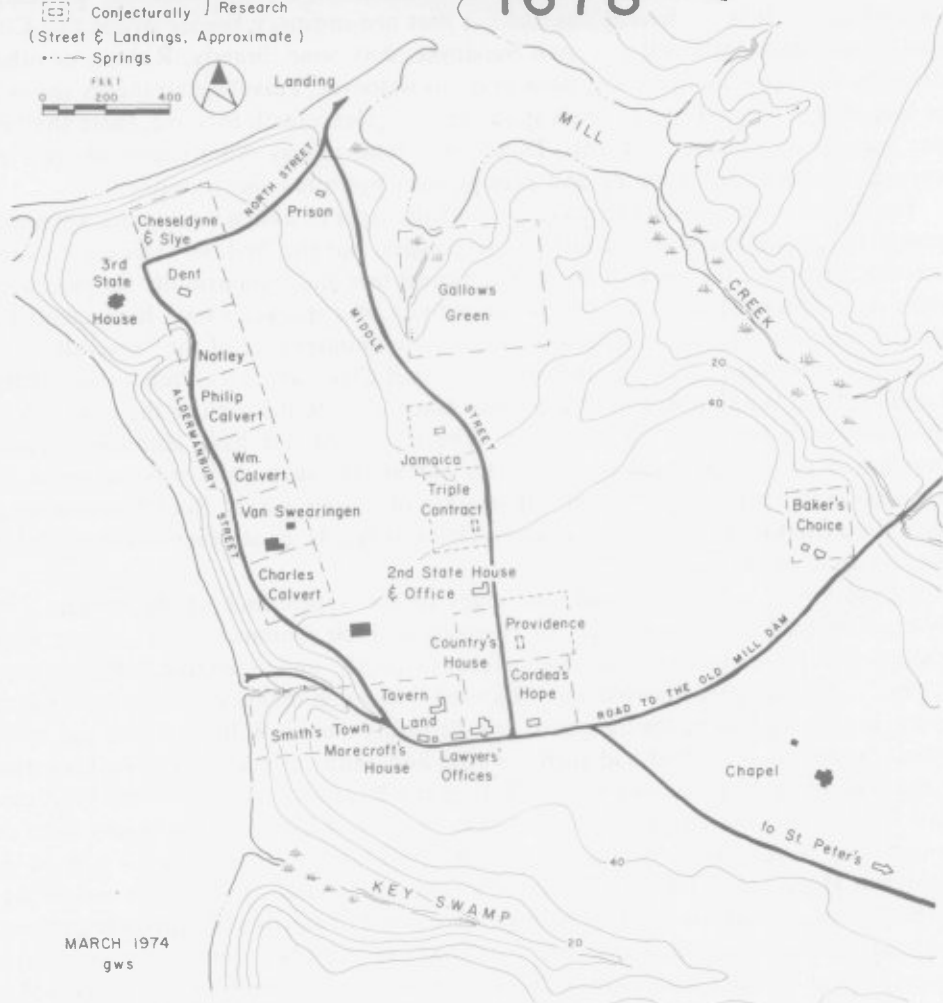


Landing

THE VILLAGE

1678

St. John's



Map 2: This map differs in many respects from earlier maps of St. Mary's City. It is based on the surviving surveys, various depositions—some unavailable to earlier scholars—infrared aerial photographs that show possible archeological sites, and two late 18th-century plats which have been superimposed on a recent topographical map created from aerial surveys.

Archaeological excavation may reveal information otherwise impossible to discover about uses of space, what structures there were, and how they were placed and utilized.

Most houses in the town probably fitted the description Charles Calvert had given

the Lords of Trade in 1678: "very meane and Little and Generally after the manner of the meanest farme houses in England."³⁵ Two buildings on the outskirts must have provided startling exceptions. The Chancellor's house on St. Peter's Freehold, just beyond the new boundaries of the city, was easily the finest in Maryland and probably one of the finest in the colonies. It was of brick, 54 feet square, with interior chimneys, and in size was the equal of the Governor's Palace built at Williamsburg twenty-five years later. The Roman Catholic Chapel was also of brick, in the shape of a cross 55 feet in length and 57 feet in width. It may have been built in the 1660's to replace the first chapel, which was burned during Ingle's Rebellion.³⁶ The Jesuits would have had no opportunity to rebuild it sooner, given political conditions of the 1650's.

The most impressive structure in the city proper was the brick state house finished in 1676. It was a two-story, cross-shaped building, with a main section about 45 feet long and 30 feet wide. A stair wing and a porch wing which made the cross extended the width to more than 61 feet.³⁷ The location on Church Point must have made the state house a land mark from the water, a proper sign that the traveler was approaching Lord Baltimore's seat of government.

In July 1689 events took place at St. Mary's City that were to help bring about the end of its reign as the capital.³⁸ News of the Glorious Revolution in England and James II's flight to France had reached the Chesapeake early in the year and in April the Virginia government had proclaimed William and Mary as king and queen. Lord Baltimore, who had returned to England in 1684, sent a messenger to his colony with orders to proclaim the new sovereigns, but the messenger had died before sailing and the orders had not arrived. The failure to proclaim Their Majesties produced great uneasiness in Maryland and triggered anti-Catholic fears in the predominantly Protestant population. By 1689 the council was almost entirely Catholic, and in Lord Baltimore's absence it also lacked strong leadership. These circumstances provided a small group of agitators and ambitious men with the opportunity to overturn the proprietary government, dismiss Catholics from office, and petition Their Majesties for crown rule.

On July 16, the council received news that Captain John Coode of the St. Mary's County militia was raising troops "up Potowmack" to march against the government. Colonel William Digges took some eighty men to St. Mary's City to protect the state house, but attempts to mobilize other militia to march against Coode failed. The arguments that the rebels used to gain support were summarized in the "Declaration of the reason and motive for the present appearing in arms of His Majestys Protestant Subjects" issued July 25. Besides complaining of proprietary abuses of power, this

³⁵ *Ibid.*, V, p. 266.

³⁶ Henry Chandlee Forman, *Tidewater Maryland Achitecture and Gardens* (New York, 1956), pp. 106-107; Forman, *Jamestown and St. Mary's*, pp. 250-51; Edwin Warfield Beitzell, *The Jesuit Missions of St. Mary's County, Maryland* (n.p., 1959), p. 16.

³⁷ Forman, *Jamestown and St. Mary's*, pp. 285-89.

³⁸ The revolution of 1689 in Maryland is discussed in detail in Lois Green Carr and David William Jordan, *Maryland's Revolution of Government, 1689-92*, St. Mary's City Commission Publication No. 1 (Ithaca, N.Y., 1974).

accused Lord Baltimore's governors of plotting to deliver Maryland to the French and Northern Indians, who supposedly were about to invade. The "Declaration" gave assurances that the only purpose of the uprising was to hold Maryland for Their Majesties and defend the Protestant religion until the crown could settle the government. Protestant militia officers loyal to Lord Baltimore found their men persuaded. They were "willing to march with [their officers] upon any other occasion, but not to fight for the papists against themselves."³⁹ On the 27th of July Coode reached St. Mary's City and demanded that Digges surrender. His men refused to fight and he was obliged to turn over the state house and the provincial records without even firing a shot. Four days later the rest of the council and about 160 men surrendered to 700 or more rebels at Mattapany-Sewell, Lord Baltimore's house on the Patuxent.

The outcome of this coup was the end of Catholic-Protestant cooperation in Maryland and the loss of political rights for Catholics. The crown ruled Maryland until 1715, when the Third Lord Baltimore died and his Protestant heir inherited. A royal governor, Lionel Copley, arrived at St. Mary's City in April of 1692 but died the following year. His successor, Francis Nicholson, arrived in July of 1694. He lost no time in securing legislation to remove the provincial capital to Annapolis in Anne Arundel County on the Chesapeake Bay.

Probably the chief reason for moving the government was the by-then isolated location of St. Mary's City. As early as 1674 there had been pressure to build the state house in Anne Arundel County. In 1683 Charles Calvert had actually agreed to the move and the assembly had met that year at The Ridge, near the South River. However, the assembly had provided no public funds to construct the necessary buildings. The Provincial Court had returned to St. Mary's City and other public offices probably had never left it. Ten years later the pressure for a more central location was greater and the concentration of Catholics in St. Mary's County may have provided added incentive for a change. Loss of Catholic political influence, at least, probably facilitated the decision to move. This time public taxes were levied to build the necessary state house.⁴⁰

The freeman of St. Mary's City protested the change with a petition that aroused open scorn in the delegates to the assembly. The petition urged that "severall of the Inhabitants of the sd City have lanced out and disbursed considerable Estates to their great impoverishmt and almost utter ruine" should the capital remove. The burgesses answered that this "is agt the plain Matter of ffact for wee can decerne noe Estate either laid out or to lay out in or about this famous City compareable wth other parts of this province But they say and can make appeare that there has been moore Money Spent here by Three degrees or more then this City & all the Inhabitants for Tenn Miles round is worth, And say that haveing had 60ty od yeares experience of this place & almost a quarter part of the province devoured by it and

³⁹ *Maryland Archives*, VIII, p. 138.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, II, pp. 377-78; VII, pp. 447-619; XIX, p. 72; Acts 1694, c. 29, XXXVIII, pp. 23-25.



Photograph 1. The reconstructed State House of 1676 stands on what was Thomas Notley's lot on Aldermanbury Street.

still like Pharoehes Kine remaine as at first, they are discouraged to add any more of their Substance to such ill Improvers." Indeed, "Snt Maries . . . has only served hitherto to cast a Blemish Upon all the Rest of the province in the Judgmt of all discerning Strangers who perceiving the meanness of the head must Rationally Judge pporconably of the body thereby."⁴¹

Seventy freemen signed the petition against removal, but it is certain that many of them did not live in the city.⁴² George Layfield and Robert King, for example, were inhabitants of Somerset County; William Digges lived in Charles County. Kenelm Cheseldyne, the city recorder, and John Coode lived a day's journey away on St. Clement's Manor. Others lived nearer, but not in the city—for example, alderman Philip Clarke and councilmen Thomas Waughop and Robert Mason. Ten years earlier the by-laws had stated that the "Major part of the members of this Court [the mayor, recorder, aldermen, and councilmen] live remote from this City," and many

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, XIX, pp. 71–77.

⁴² For Layfield and King, see *ibid.*, XIX, pp. 110, 138; for Digges, see Wills 7, f. 292, ms., for Cheseldyne and Coode, see Edwin W. Beitzell, "Thomas Gerard and his Sons-in-law," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLVI (1951), pp. 189–206; Philip Clarke and Thomas Waughop lived on Piney Point (Rent Roll 7, f. 18, ms., Testamentary Proceedings 19, f. 90; Wills 6, f. 271); Robert Mason lived near by (Rent Roll 7, ff. 20, 21, 22).

still did in 1694.⁴³ The burgesses were unkind, but not altogether inaccurate in their assessment of St. Mary's.

Governor Copley had been interested in the development of the city. He had leased the Great House on St. Peter's and had purchased the enterprises of former councillor William Digges on the water front and on Mill Creek. The revolution had interrupted construction of the mill, but Copley had probably finished it before his death; his executors later sold it for twenty-five percent more than he had paid for it.⁴⁴ The Governor's influence may have helped to keep the capital at St. Mary's when the issue had come to a vote in 1692.

Governor Francis Nicholson had no such plans to invest in local enterprises, and the facilities available clearly did not seem to him worth the inconvenience of the location. The state house of 1676, built by men of insufficient experience for so ambitious a structure, was in poor repair, despite many past expenditures. The preceding year the walls had been reported "to leane out on each side the Staire case." The Country's House, still leased as an ordinary and the oldest structure in the town, needed new siding as well as a new roof; it doubtless was far from comfortable.⁴⁵ In general the lodgings available may have seemed unnecessarily crude to the royal officials and members of their entourages, who had no personal interest to soften their impressions. Their opinions may have been reflected in the sneers of the delegates in 1694.

St. Mary's City soon withered, once its political functions were removed. In 1695, gunpowder stored in the Great House at St. Peter's blew up this one-time home of the proprietary chancellor and royal governors, and no effort was made to rebuild it.⁴⁶ For a few years the state house was the county courthouse and a substantial ordinary was still in operation at least as late as 1698. But by 1708 the court was meeting elsewhere. At the same time, the city lost its representation in the Assembly. According to the sheriff's return for the election held September 30 "there were no Persons to be found . . . to make any Election of any Delegate to serve for the said City."⁴⁷

Why was the village born so late and why did it die so early? Its history provides a partial answer. No village appeared until the population of the whole province was sufficient to justify and finance the construction of public buildings. At that same time people began to come from a distance on public business in sufficient numbers to support several inns for more than three or four weeks a year. But when the public offices were gone, so also was the financial base of the town. Aside from the inns,

⁴³ *Maryland Archives*, XVII, p. 421.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, VIII, pp. 382, 424, 432, 445, 458; Provincial Court Deeds, WRC no. 1, ff. 605-10, 661-63; Inventories and Accounts 19½ B, f. 58, ms.

⁴⁵ *Maryland Archives*, XX, pp. 35, 251-53; VII, 294-95, 299; XVII, p. 259.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, XX, pp. 307-08. This is an account of the powder and arms lost "vpon blowing vp the Chancellors house." It is recorded between council recordings for July 1 and October 3, 1695. There is no other mention of the explosion in the council or assembly records, undoubtedly because the government was no longer at St. Mary's City.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, XIX, p. 214; XXII, p. 102; Acts 1708, c. 3, XXVII, pp. 209, 349; Wills 6, ff. 209-10 (Garret Van Swearingen); Inventories and Accounts 20, f. 96 (Garret Van Swearingen).

neither court records nor probate records show activity to speak of at St. Mary's City not connected with the provincial government. References in the Provincial Court records to sales of goods in the city are infrequent and suggest no special concentration of commerce. Almost all the identified town inhabitants were ordinary keepers and clerks. Even the lawyers, unless they were also clerks in the provincial bureaucracy, lived outside the city, although some had offices and probably lodgings there. The various carpenters and masons who had been or were at work on the public buildings, the Catholic chapel, Philip Calvert's mansion, and other houses may have lived in the village but they probably did not become permanent residents. Only carpenter William Smith of the Smith's Town Land, also an ordinary keeper, died in the city and left a record of that fact. Once the government had moved, furthermore, all construction stopped. St. Mary's City had no economy to support even a small permanent population without the presence of the government.

The explanation of this fact must be found in the answer to the larger question: Why did towns fail to develop anywhere in the Chesapeake before the eighteenth century? Writing about 1704, Robert Beverley of Virginia attributed their absence to "the Ambition each Man had of being Lord of a vast, tho' unimproved Territory, together with the Advantage of the many Rivers, which afforded a commodious Road for Shipping at every Man's Door." Twenty-seven years earlier, Lord Baltimore had predicted to the Lords of Trade that there would be no change "untill it shall please God to encrease the number of the People and soe to alter their Trade as to make it necessary to build more close and to Lyve in Townes." Both men saw that patterns of trade were somehow central to the pattern of settlement.⁴⁸

Various documents indicate how the trade was organized by the late seventeenth century, at least at the colony end. English merchants sent ships to the Chesapeake with goods to purchase tobacco. A factor in charge of the cargo might accompany the ship; the ship captain might act also as factor; or a factor might be established in Maryland or Virginia. He had responsibility for selling the cargo and purchasing and lading tobacco for the return trip. He often had a store at a landing to which the ship would come. Factors and shipmasters bargained directly with planters and sent sloops to collect tobacco and deliver goods where the ship itself did not go. It often took months to load the ship.⁴⁹

Not all planters sold their tobacco to a factor if they thought they could get a better price by selling in the European market. They consigned instead to particular English merchants and took their payment after sale in bills of exchange or in goods. These planters were often themselves merchants, who sold goods to less wealthy neighbors in

⁴⁸ Beverley, *The History and Present State of Virginia*, p. 57; *Maryland Archives*, V, p. 266.

⁴⁹ Fitzhugh describes this form of the trade as prevalent in several letters. *William Fitzhugh*, pp. 138, 180-81; see also instructions from a merchant to a factor, 1695 (Charles County Court and Land Records, Q no. 1, ff. 117-18, ms.) and depositions concerning a transaction between a planter and a factor in Somerset County, 1692 (Somerset County Judicial Records, 1692-93, ff. 10-18, ms.) Actions at law by English merchants against Maryland residents with appended store accounts abound in the 17th century court records.

return for their tobacco. A merchant-planter would have a store at his plantation and might combine his private ventures with a factorship. Many such merchants had started their careers in the Chesapeake as factors.⁵⁰

A third pattern had operated earlier in the seventeenth century. Merchants then had occasionally sent partners to the Chesapeake to establish the trade at the colony end.⁵¹ A marketing system might have developed in which merchants in the colony shared equally with those of England. But such arrangements did not continue. As the population and thus production grew, and as the trade became more routine and was organized on a larger scale, merchants could send agents, not partners. Life was not so alluring in the colonies that men who could make large profits in England would choose to emigrate.

Given the organization of the trade, the English merchants called the tune. They controlled the shipping and they extended credit, not only to merchant planters but through the factors to small planters as well. Probably no merchant in the seventeenth century Chesapeake had capital sufficient to compete,⁵² and there was no need for the English merchant to share profits with a middleman in Maryland or Virginia in any major way. The whole Chesapeake was the hinterland of English urban centers, especially London.

The failure of middlemen to conduct major operations helped maintain a decentralized system of collecting tobacco and distributing the goods it paid for, a system which hindered town development. The letters of William Fitzhugh suggest how expansion of middleman activity might have centralized economic services. He several times proposed to English merchants that he arrange the loading of a ship with tobacco at a pre-arranged price, to be paid in goods that would come in the ship. "By this means," he argued, "here will be a great charge saved in the long stay ships generally make here, being oftentimes forced to run from one end of the Country to the other almost, which eats out the profit of a good Market, besides Sloop hire, the allowance to your factor & Merchants, the uncertainty of purchasing Tobo. & if

⁵⁰ The letters of Fitzhugh and of William Byrd I illustrate this side of the trade. *William Fitzhugh, passim*; *Virginia Historical Magazine*, XXIV, pp. 225-37, 350-61; XXV, pp. 43-52, 128-38, 250-64, 353-64; XXVI, pp. 17-31, 124-34, 247-59, 388-92; XXVII, pp. 167-68, 273-88; XXVIII, pp. 11-23. Of the 27 justices appointed in Prince George's County, Maryland, 1696-1709, at least 12 were planter merchants. Six, probably more, were also factors. Six were immigrants, and of these, at least four began their careers as factors. Lois Green Carr, *County Government in Maryland, 1689-1709* (Ph.D. diss. Harvard University, 1968), Text, pp. 617-18; Appendix, 270-380. Unpublished research of Russell R. Menard, St. Mary's City Commission, supplies similar examples from other counties.

⁵¹ Unpublished research of Russell R. Menard, St. Mary's City Commission.

⁵² The study of 1735 lower Western Shore inventories discussed below in Russell R. Menard, P. M. G. Harris, and Lois Green Carr, "Opportunity and Inequality: Wealth Distribution on the Lower Western Shore of Maryland, 1638-1705," shows that none in these four counties who left an inventory died with personal assets in excess of £4000 sterling. Jacob Price lists tobacco contractors admitted to the Russia Company in 1699 who had £90,000 or more in assets. "The Tobacco Adventure to Russia: Enterprise, Politics and Diplomacy in the Quest for a Northern Market for English Colonial Tobacco, 1676-1722," *American Philosophical Society Transactions*, N.S., LI, Part 1 (1961), pp. 105-110. See also, Richard Grassby, "English Merchant Capitalism in the late Seventeenth Century, the Composition of Business Fortunes," *Past and Present*, 46 (1970), pp. 87-107.



Photograph 2. This gun called a saker was found in the river below Church Point in 1824. It dates from the late 17th century. The gun has been spiked to make it useless. Possibly it stood on the point when Captain John Coode forced the surrender of the State House in July 1689.

purchased, many times lying out & behind & some bad debts never to be recovered.” His correspondents never consented to this arrangement. If the agreed price was too low, they must have argued, Fitzhugh might fail to find a shipload of tobacco; if too high, Fitzhugh would make a profit they could have obtained for themselves despite delays, the expenses of sloop hire, and commissions paid to agents.⁵³

Although there were inefficiencies, the prevailing patterns of trade must have been least costly, for efforts to force centralization invariably failed. These usually occurred in periods of depression and towards the end of the century they were hooked to efforts to encourage economic diversification, which also was a need most often felt when returns from tobacco were low. Town acts passed in Virginia and Maryland in the early 1680's and in Virginia in 1691 required that all ships come to specified places to load and unload. By this means turn-around time of the ships and hence the costs of freight would be reduced and tobacco would reach its market sooner. To force merchants to locate in these places, the acts also required that only there could goods be sold or purchased. The acts attempted in addition to lure “articifers,” or craftsmen, to these “towns” through temporary tax exemptions. In neither colony, however, did this legislation bring about town development, though it may have encouraged some increased investment at St. Mary's City, where other forces encouraged a settlement. Warehouses for storing tobacco and goods failed to appear; merchants or factors already established at other landings did not move their operations. The requirements for loading and unloading cargo thus were impossible to enforce and soon were lifted.

⁵³ William Fitzhugh, pp. 138 (quotation), 180–81.

Similar acts of 1705 and 1706, later and unnecessarily disallowed by the crown at the behest of the English merchants, were equally unenforceable.⁵⁴

As the eighteenth century progressed, what might be called towns did begin to appear in the tidewater Chesapeake, but little so far is known about them. Recent research in the history of Anne Arundel and Prince George's counties in Maryland suggests something about the nature of these settlements. They developed around stores and ordinaries and storage houses at landings, which would draw daily custom from an area five miles or so in any direction—an hour's horseback ride. But mills, blacksmith shops, and other businesses necessary to a farm economy did not cluster in these settlements, remaining scattered across the countryside. Nor were churches or schools necessarily located in such "towns," and their permanent population was too small to require town government around which local political activity could organize. Except in Annapolis, the provincial capital, the social and political functions associated with towns were missing.⁵⁵

Such settlements had primarily economic functions, but these were elementary. Why were they not duplicated in the seventeenth century? Several interacting influences may have had some effect. First, most seventeenth-century merchants did not keep their stores well supplied with goods year round. A study of seventeenth-century inventories of four southern Maryland counties, including St. Mary's, suggests that merchants stocks were often low or nonexistent. Inventories of most planters show cloth and thread on hand at the same time that men known to be merchants often had little or no supplies of goods. Probably neighbors often sold or exchanged goods with one another when the need arose. By contrast, inventories of the 1730's far less often contain these small quantities of goods, and merchants are easily identified by the contents of their stores. Neighborhood householders went to the store as they needed goods, rather than buying a stock when their crop was sold or a ship was in.⁵⁶

Evidently seventeenth-century English merchants were unwilling to make the long-range capital investments required for year-round stores. They preferred to send a ship with goods sufficient only to purchase its load of tobacco. Local merchant-planter-factors usually had insufficient capital of their own for such a venture if their English correspondents would not advance sufficient goods. By the 1690's, perhaps

⁵⁴ For a discussion of the relationship of town acts and acts for diversification to economic cycles in the tobacco trade, see Russell R. Menard, *Economy and Society in Early Colonial Maryland* (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1974), Chapter 6. The town acts for Virginia were: Act V, 1680, *The Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia . . .*, William W. Hening, ed., (13 vols.: Richmond, Va. 1819–23), II, pp. 471–76; Act VIII, 1691, *ibid.*, III, pp. 53–69, 109; Act XLII, 1705, *ibid.*, pp. 404–19. For Maryland, see note 30; Acts 1706, c. 14 *Maryland Archives*, XXVI, pp. 636–45; XIII, pp. 171, 172; *The Laws of Maryland at Large with Proper Indexes. . .* Thomas Bacon, ed. (Annapolis, 1765).

⁵⁵ Carville V. Earle, *The Evolution of a Tidewater Settlement System: All Hallow's Parish, Maryland, 1650–1783* (Ph. D. diss., University of Chicago, 1973), Chapter 4; Allan Kulikoff, *Tobacco County: Population, Economy, and Society in Eighteenth-Century Prince George's County Maryland*, (Ph.D. diss., in preparation, Brandeis University), Chapter 6.

⁵⁶ Inventory study cited in note 52; unpublished research of the author in St. Mary's County inventories, 1729–33, 1750–53, 1761–63; unpublished research of Allan Kulikoff, Brandeis University, in Prince George's County inventories, 1730–68.

before, some firms, such as Edward and Dudley Carleton of London, ran year-round operations in areas where they dominated the trade, but these stores were not the rule.⁵⁷ Stores open year round must have increased markedly in numbers by the 1730's.

Why this change occurred is as yet unclear. One cause may have been an increase in population densities. When there were people sufficient to provide year-round business within an hour or so travel time from a store, then stores could function in this way. The less than "fifty houses in the space of Thirty Myles" along the rivers, described by Charles Calvert in 1678, may not have been sufficient to support such an operation. Perhaps more of those plantations "lying out & behind," in Fitzhugh's words, were necessary. Increase of capital accumulation in the Chesapeake may also have been an element. Resident merchant planters had more to invest in their stores and were better credit risks to English merchants. But whether in fact colonial enterprises contributed any major numbers of year-round stores is as yet undetermined. English merchants, and those of Scotland after 1707, may have supplied the service. Either way, the possibilities of profit from a year-round store improved in the eyes of investing Britishers.⁵⁸

A profitable year-round store did not necessarily bring a clustered settlement into being, although no such settlement was usually possible without it. A second element of eighteenth-century "town" development may have been the centralization of tobacco collection that finally followed passage of the tobacco inspection acts of 1730 (Virginia) and 1747 (Maryland), which established publicly financed tobacco inspection warehouses.⁵⁹ The success of the acts lay partly in a difference from the town acts of the late seventeenth century. They provided public funds to build and maintain the necessary warehouses. Here again population growth and capital accumulation may have played a role by increasing the public funds that could be raised. With storage facilities available, English merchants and ship captains could cooperate in enforcing the law and thus earn the benefit of savings in port time.⁶⁰ The acts fostered "towns," but not by attempting to force merchants and tradesmen to relocate. Once tobacco was being brought to a central place to which ships would

⁵⁷ For the Carleton's store, 1692-1707, see accounts recorded with actions at law against debtors in *Court Records of Prince George's County, Maryland, 1696-1699*, Joseph H. Smith and Philip A. Crowl, eds., American Historical Association, *American Legal Records*, IX (Washington, D. C., 1964), pp. 32, 34, 102, 204, 273, 300, 340-41, 379-85, 405-08, 437, 446-47; Prince George's County Court Records, B, ff. 22a-23, 125, 126, 293a-294, 372a-373, ms.; C. f. 157a.

⁵⁸ For increased accumulation, see Aubrey C. Land, "Economic Base and Social Structure: the Northern Chesapeake in the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of Economic History*, XXV (1965), pp. 639-54; "Economic Behavior in a Planting Society: The Eighteenth Century Chesapeake," *The Journal of Southern History*, XXXIII (1967), pp. 469-85. The activity of Scottish storekeepers by the 1740's is well known.

⁵⁹ Arthur Pierce Middleton, *Tobacco Coast, A Maritime History of Chesapeake Bay in the Colonial Era* (Newport News, Va., 1953), pp. 121-26.

⁶⁰ The savings probably were great. For the years 1694-1701, average port time for Maryland was 105.6 days; for Virginia 93.6 days. For the years 1762-68, the figures are 41.4 and 48.9 days respectively. James F. Shepherd and Gary M. Walton, *Shipping, Maritime Trade and the Economic Development of Colonial North America* (Cambridge, England, 1972), p. 198.

come, factors and tradesmen naturally gravitated there. By no means every warehouse produced a "town", but it is likely that every "town" had a public warehouse.

Nevertheless, these were not towns like the port towns of colonies north of the Chesapeake nor in South Carolina or the West Indies, although Baltimore was an exception by the 1770's.⁶¹ The most bustling of Chesapeake tidewater towns, the provincial capitals aside, were much smaller and had fewer functions. The absence in New England and the middle colonies of a staple that dominated the economy may have made a difference but cannot account for Charleston in South Carolina or Port Royal in Jamaica. The swamps of the Carolina coast, the military exposure of the West Indies and their dependence on imports for food may have supplied exceptional circumstances that encouraged towns where rice and sugar were staples, but these questions are as yet unstudied.⁶² The suggestions offered to explain the stunting of town development in the Chesapeake need study in the context of urban growth in all the colonies, a subject still under exploration.

It is argued here that in the seventeenth century, the costs of centralizing the tobacco trade were higher than the benefits and that this fact hindered the growth of towns in the Chesapeake. Even a village like St. Mary's, with other reasons for being, could not establish any commercial pre-eminence. In the eighteenth century, increased density of population and gradual accumulation of local capital helped make some centralization possible and fostered limited town development. Charles Calvert had seen much of the problem when he commented that towns would not appear "untill it shall please God to encrease the number of the People and soe to alter their Trade as to make it necessary to build more close and Lyve in Towns."⁶³

The St. Mary's townland was not one of the areas that grew a town in the eighteenth century. By 1722, if not by 1708, the seventeenth-century village was entirely defunct. That year a curious legal tangle over ownership of the Governor's

⁶¹ For Baltimore, see Ronald Hoffman, *A Spirit of Dissension: Economics, Politics, and the Revolution in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1973), pp. 10-11.

⁶² In 1776, for example, Georgetown on the Potomac had only 433 inhabitants. Gaius Marcus Brumbaugh, *Maryland Records, Colonial, Revolutionary, County, and Church from Original Sources* (2 vols.: Baltimore, 1967), I, pp. 193-97. Port Royal in Jamaica and Bridgetown in Barbados both had nearly 3000 residents a century earlier in 1680 and were major distribution points for goods and services. Richard S. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves, The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1972), pp. 179-86. Recent discussions of southern town development include Joseph A. Ernst and H. Roy Merrens, "'Camden's turrets pierce the skies!': The Urban Process in the Southern Colonies during the Eighteenth Century," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., XXX (1973), pp. 54-74; John C. Rainbolt, "The Absence of Towns in Seventeenth-Century Virginia," *The Journal of Southern History*, XXXV (1969), pp. 343-60; Edward C. Papenfuss, Jr., *Mercantile Opportunity and Urban Development in a Planting Society: A Case Study of Annapolis, Maryland, 1763-1805* (Ph.D. diss., The Johns Hopkins University, 1973).

⁶³ *Maryland Archives*, V, p. 268. It could be argued that increased economic diversification, pushed by a long period of stagnation in the tobacco economy that began about 1680 and did not end before 1710 (Menard, *Economy and Society in Early Colonial Maryland*, Chapter 6), also helped towns develop. Import replacement may have had a minor effect, however, if further research confirms that artisan occupations did not center in towns. The rise of the grain trade may have had some effect, but just why grain rather than tobacco would encourage towns is not yet clear.

Field was settled in favor of a private individual. Two men still owned town lots, which may have had structures, and the state house was still standing. The assembly had given it to the parish of William and Mary for use as an Anglican chapel two years previously. Otherwise no improvements of value can have remained. Surely their owners would not have relinquished them without a protest. From this time on, the tract changed hands as farm land. Nevertheless, its past history was not forgotten. In 1774 its owner advertised it in the Maryland *Gazette* as "once the Metropolis of Maryland and flourishing City of St. Mary's."⁶⁴

⁶⁴ Provincial Court Judgments, WG no. 1, ff. 747-48, ms.; Acts 1720, c. 4, *Maryland Archives*, XXXVIII, pp. 262-63; Rent Roll 7, f. 13; Chancery Papers, no. 5873 (copy of deed, William Deacon to William Hicks, April 15, 1754, ms.); *Gazette*, February 10, 1774, microfilm, Hall of Records, Annapolis. For a detailed account of the townland from about 1720 to 1766, see Carr, Little, and Israel, "Salvage Archeology of a Dwelling on the John Hicks Leasehold," pp. 6-54. The findings are summarized in Lois Green Carr, "Ceramics from the John Hicks Site, 1723-1743; The St. Mary's Town Land Community," in Ian M. G. Quimby, ed., *Ceramics in America*, Winterthur Conference Report, 1972 (Charlottesville, Va., 1972), pp. 75-102.

St. John's: Archaeological Questions and Answers

GARRY WHEELER STONE

GOVERNMENT IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY Maryland required little space: a couple of meeting rooms and an office for the secretary and his clerk. Until the province acquired buildings of its own in the 1660's, the homes of the governor and the secretary usually provided these rooms. One of the most prominent structures was St. John's, Secretary Lewger's dwelling, in public use much of the time from 1639 through at least 1693. For the past two years the St. Mary's City Commission has been engaged in a major archaeological effort to recover information about St. John's.

Contemporaries recorded little about the appearance of St. John's. The one known description, a map sent to England in 1664, is lost, and few chroniclers mentioned the structure. One who did was John Speed. In his *Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World*, published in London in 1676, Speed said:

Here formerly at the Palace of St. John's, the Governor Mr. *Charles Calvert* used to reside; but he hath now a very pleasant and commodious habitation at a place called Mattapany upon the River *Patuxent*, about eight miles from St. *Maries*.

If Charles Calvert had a "Palace" at St. John's, why did he move to Mattapany? Speed had condensed his description of Maryland from John Ogilby's *America*, published in 1671. Ogilby referred to St. John's as a "House" and implied that Calvert's home at Mattapany, "a fair House of Brick and Timber," was more substantial. Speed's "Palace" was literary fiction. But neither account tells us much about St. John's.¹

Additional searchings produced a great deal of information on residents of St. John's and how the building was used, but little about its appearance. To date, the only known historical descriptions are accidental mentions in three court cases and one letter:²

¹ John Ogilby, *America: Being the Latest and Most Accurate Description of the New World* (London, 1671), p. 189; John Speed, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain . . . Together With A Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World . . .* (London, 1676), p. 44; Elizabeth Baer, *Seventeenth Century Maryland, A Bibliography* (Baltimore, 1949), p. 88. For information not drawn from archaeological studies this article draws heavily on documentary files compiled under the direction of Lois Green Carr.

² *Archives of Maryland*, William Hand Browne, et al., eds. (72 vols. to date: Baltimore, 1883-), XV, p. 230, hereafter cited as *Maryland Archives*; XL1, pp. 190-91, 204-08, 210-13; *Calvert Papers, Number One*, Maryland Historical Society, *Fund Publication No. 28* (Baltimore, 1889), pp. 229-52 (Italics mine).

1658: Attorney General versus Overzee

A *pear tree* stood (1656) near the *dwelling house*. A Negro woman was not a witness since she stayed in the *quartering house* (servants' quarters).

1658: Attorney General versus Williams *et al.*

Mr. Job Chandler was staying in the *loft*, Mary Williams and Mary Clocker in Mrs. Overzee's *chamber*. The *kitchen* was adjacent, and three pecks of salt were taken from the *dairy*.

1664: Charles Calvert to Cecilius, Lord Baltimore

He had discussed the matter with the Chancellor in "my *parlor*." Horses fed in the *stables* had wintered very well. Mr. White had done some thing about "the *House & Orchard*".

1678: Council minutes

A slander had been discussed "in the *Hall* of Henry Exons house at St Johns."

The 1678 reference is not very informative. In the seventeenth century, "hall" referred to a main living room, not a corridor, and in a small house, it could have been used for cooking, dining, entertaining, and sleeping. The 1656–1658 references are more useful. They suggest that at that time St. John's was a one-story house with finished bedrooms in the attic. Cooking was done in the main house, although there were also a separate dairy and a servants' house. Presumably the dwelling was of frame construction, since Governor Charles Calvert asked the Province to build him a brick residence in 1674.³ This is all the documents tell us. They do not reveal the size or the arrangement of the house or whether Lewger's house of 1638–1647 was the same building as Henry Exon's tavern, 1678–1681. The answers to these and other questions have had to come from archaeology.

The location of the structure, on the crest of a slope above the mouth of Mill Creek, has never been in doubt. As long as the field was worked, each plowing brought evidence of the seventeenth-century buildings—brick and pantile—to the surface.⁴ In 1962 Dr. Henry Chandlee Forman relocated the foundations of the main house in a tangle of honeysuckle, gum, and sycamore. Assisted by friends, Dr. Forman spent numerous weekends excavating at the site during 1962–1963. Careful trowelling along foundations revealed the exact shape of the structure. Trenches across a small, stone walled cellar uncovered two floors, the first earth, the second brick. The building exposed by Dr. Forman was a center chimney farmhouse, 52 feet long and 20 feet 6 inches wide.⁵

³ *Maryland Archives*, XIX, p. 72.

⁴ Henry Chandlee Forman, *Jamestown and St. Mary's, Buried Cities of Romance* (Baltimore, 1938), pp. 237–38.

⁵ Henry Chandlee Forman, *Old Buildings, Gardens, and Furniture in Tidewater Maryland* (Cambridge, Md., 1967), pp. 5, 17, 42, 43; *Maryland Architecture, A Short History* (Cambridge, Md., 1968), p. 6. The excavation was conducted with the kind permission of the property owners, Colonel and Mrs. L. E. Cobb. In 1969 the Cobbs sold their home to St. Mary's College of Maryland; it is now the temporary residence of the College president. The Commission and College are developing the site as an historical exhibit.

In 1972 St. Mary's City Commission, with generous financial support from the State of Maryland, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and private foundations and corporations, began a large scale archaeological investigation of the site. For the past two excavating seasons, 25 students have labored at St. John's and in the archaeological laboratory. Almost all the house and large areas of the adjacent yard are uncovered. We shall excavate there an additional half season in 1974.⁶

Carefully dissected, the site is yielding a wealth of architectural information. Debris from the collapse of the house protected the fragile occupation and construction levels from plow destruction. Beneath one to three inches of undisturbed rubble, the excavators found humus filled depressions preserving the alignment of the floor beams (joists). Vertical flooring nails still marked the centers and edges of floor boards (Plate II), and under the mortar of a late seventeenth-century hearth, an archaeologist recovered preserved threads of wood. Microscopic identification established that this wood, the hall's last floor, was yellow pine.⁷ Superimposed foundations and construction levels are permitting us to trace the building and rebuilding of the house. Outside, post holes, construction ditches, pits, and brick show how the surrounding yards evolved.

The work has been tedious. In uncovering the house, shovels could be used to remove only the top of the plow disturbed soil. All the remaining earth is being excavated with trowels or, occasionally, with dental picks and paint brushes. The students are screening all the dirt from the house and much of that from the yard to increase the recovery of artifacts. Samples of earth, especially from pits, are dissolved in water. Light materials float to the top and are skimmed off, then the remaining sludge is flushed through window screen. By this method, the excavators are recovering small and fragile artifacts—bits of charcoal, beads, tiny clothing hooks, fish scales, crab claws, and egg shells.

In the yard, shovels can be used more freely. Some of the plow zone has been removed mechanically, but every underlying level, post hole, or ditch has to be traced and excavated with a trowel. As every such feature is identified, it is (1) assigned an index number and described on a card. Many are photographed; each is (2) drawn in plan, then (3) one side is excavated and (4) drawn in section. The other half is excavated (5), and finally (6) the shape of the emptied feature is compared to the original plan. No step can be omitted, because as the excavation turns over the earth, this buried evidence of the seventeenth century is automatically destroyed. Future archaeologists will be able to reexamine only our notes and drawings.

⁶ Grants have been received from the National Endowment for the Humanities, The Rockefeller Foundation, The Jacob and Anita France Foundation, Inc., The William H. Donner Foundation, Inc., Stewart Petroleum Corporation, and Educational Expeditions International. The excavation is conducted as a work-study program for college students. The field school is sponsored by the St. Mary's City Commission, St. Mary's College of Maryland, George Washington University, and the Office of American Studies, Smithsonian Institution. The author wishes to acknowledge the assistance of George L. Miller, Laboratory Curator, and Alexander H. Morrison, Assistant Archaeologist.

⁷ The yellow pine fibers were identified by R. C. Koeppen, Center of Wood Anatomy Research, Forest Products Laboratory, U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, and Bradford L. Rauschburg, Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts.

Half a shelf of notes and 72,800 artifacts await further analysis. Much remains to be done, but already the results permit us to sketch an outline of the development of St. John's.

John Lewger, Secretary of Maryland, built St. John's in 1638. His home, an important part of the early capital, was a story and a loft, frame house with two major rooms on each floor. About 1654–1655 Simon Overzee, a freewheeling entrepreneur, acquired St. John's. He may have added a second floor to the house. Overzee died in 1660. The following year his second wife remarried, and when Governor Charles Calvert arrived in Maryland, St. John's was vacant. Calvert quickly acquired the property, and for five years it was the Governor's residence. Then in 1666 or 1667, Calvert married a wealthy widow and moved to her plantation at Mattapany. Thereafter the Calverts used St. John's only occasionally; the remainder of the time they leased the building as a tavern or office. The last historical mention of St. John's was in 1693, when it was the colony's probate office, but artifacts found in the cellar suggest that the building continued in use until the St. Mary's county government moved to Leonardtown about 1708. Shortly afterwards, the deteriorating building was abandoned and soon collapsed or was pulled down.

The outline above is a series of educated guesses, conjectured from historical and archaeological data. As new evidence is analyzed, these hypotheses will be reinforced, altered, or rejected. Soil stains, artifacts, and historical clues do not lie, but archaeologists can misinterpret them. To illustrate how we continually interpret and reinterpret archaeological evidence, the evolution of our hypotheses explaining the information at St. John's is outlined below.

One of the first features we reexposed was the huge central chimney with its back-to-back 7-foot 6-inch-wide fireplaces. The chimney foundation was not a simple I shape, but had a curious continuation south (Plate IA). This continuation appeared to be from the same building period as the fireplaces, as it was constructed of the same underfired brick and yellow loam mortar. Some of the bricks of the continuation actually projected under the brickwork of the fireplaces. From the location, next to the front door, it was obvious that these smaller recesses were not oven foundations. For lack of a better explanation, we interpreted them as closets built into the chimney, although no descriptions of masonry closets could be found in the literature.

An interesting feature of the chimney masonry is the flat roof tiles which the mason used to level the north end of the foundation before carrying the brickwork above grade. They were an important clue, for outside the northeast corner of the house, we uncovered identical tile on another foundation—this one fourteen feet long with an eight foot fireplace at one end—possibly the remains of a small, exterior service building (Figure 2). It is also built of soft brick and yellow loam mortar, and on its east end are two flat tile. Although these tile are no longer mortared in place (they have been nudged out of position by plowing), they are still perched on the corner of the foundation. This second building is not completely excavated, but the tile strongly suggest that both chimneys were constructed by the same mason at the same time.

By the time we had reached this stage of excavation we knew that the foundation located by Dr. Forman was the last dwelling on the site—and the first. While the trash



Plate 1A: The house during excavation, looking south. In the left foreground has been excavated to subsoil, beyond which the excavated slots of floor joists show. A period I chimney is visible beyond the period II fireplaces.

lying on the cellar floor contained fragments of early eighteenth-century red and brown stoneware mugs (Plate V), there were almost no occasional nail or sherd of Indian pottery, in the construction level. Many mid-seventeenth-century artifacts were found in the yard, an inconceivable that some of them would not have been mixed in the upper levels if a second house had been built on the site.

By this time we also knew that Lewger's family cooked in the main house. At the back of the hall, we found a small "refrigerator" covering a three-foot deep cellar. This small, semisubterranean room was a dairy, where skim milk, cream, butter, and soft cheese could have been kept cool.⁸ While not original (the entrance stair of the dairy cuts through the foundation of the main house), the dairy was a very early addition to the house. The fill indicates that it was demolished circa 1650–1660.

What was the outside service building? Why did Lewger's fam-

St. John's: Archaeological Questions and Answers



Plate 1B: The superimposed chimneys after removal of the construction and pre (except for a small control strip on the right).

family room, long after separate kitchens for cooking were in use English southeast. But to make their halls more pleasant, the Essex more and more of the messier chores to service wings containing bre houses, and bolting (flour preparation) houses. Butteries (beverage moved other clutter. Even in the early eighteenth century, the room-b the furnishings of wealthy Essex farmers show that some continued fireplace for light cooking, especially meat roasting.⁹

Thus we hypothesized that the outside service building, near the cellar brewing, pickling, and washing the laundry. But this explanation question. Why had Lewger, a London born clergyman, copied the f

building. Lewger's house had been heated by 6-foot-wide fireplaces; his household had cooked in the hall for lack of separate kitchen (Figure 1).

Rapidly, the evidence was reassembled:

1. Stratigraphic evidence: the top level in the dairy fill was brick rubble.
Hypothesis: the dairy and first chimney were demolished at the same time.
2. Artifact evidence: the dairy was filled in circa 1650–1660.
Hypothesis: the first chimney was demolished circa 1650–1660.
3. Documentary evidence: Simon Overzee spent a large sum, £55 sterling and 5,000 pounds tobacco, for carpentry work about a house, circa 1654–1655.
Hypothesis: Simon Overzee built the second chimney and the outside kitchen circa 1654–1655.
4. Evidence: the new chimney represented a major structural change. Its new location against the rear wall provided room for a more convenient stair opposite the front door.
Hypothesis: Simon Overzee raised St. John's to 2 full floors.

This set of hypotheses lasted only until the documentary evidence was reexamined. Then the records summarized earlier revealed that in 1658 St. John's was still a story and a loft in height and the hall was still used as the kitchen. The 1655 carpenter's bill must have been for construction of outbuildings and repairs or for work on another plantation.

We still believe that the second chimney marks the addition of a second floor to St. John's. Only a radical change could have made it necessary to replace the chimney: heat damage to the first fireplaces could have been patched, and chimneys were too expensive to move about without good reason.

The question now is: Who rebuilt St. John's? There are two likely candidates. Simon Overzee could have enlarged the house in 1659, at the time of his remarriage; but it is more probable that Charles Calvert added the second floor during 1662. It is unlikely that the house would have been extensively remodeled after that date, since the innkeepers to whom Calvert leased the house after 1667 would not have rebuilt it without the incentive of a very long-term lease.

Further evidence from the excavations may help answer the question. After the outside kitchen is excavated, the artifacts from the construction levels and any underlying pits will be carefully examined for clues. A coin of 1661 from a fill would prove that Calvert constructed the kitchen. Or, if several Dutch tobacco pipes are found in the construction levels, it would suggest that Overzee enlarged the house. (While Overzee traded with the Netherlands and Flanders, the Calverts dealt with English merchants.)¹⁰ Should we find such precisely datable artifacts, we shall be very lucky.

Archaeology combined with historical research has greatly expanded our knowledge of the past. Despite the unanswered questions, our knowledge of St. John's is

¹⁰ Beverly Fleet, *Virginia Colonial Abstracts* (34 vols: Baltimore, 1961–70), XXXI, p. 30; *Maryland Archives*, III, p. 306; *Calvert Papers, Number One*, pp. 229–52.

much fuller now than before the excavation began. Only the evidence of archaeology permits us to frame questions such as: was St. John's rebuilt in 1659 or 1662? Following is what we now conjecture about the buildings and occupants of St. John's.

The ship *Unity* arrived in Maryland on November 28, 1637, carrying Maryland's new Secretary, John Lewger, his wife Ann, and their nine year old son. Lewger was a Catholic convert, a former Anglican clergyman, who had been fortunate in receiving employment from Cecilius, Lord Baltimore, an acquaintance from days at Oxford. Lewger's commission, dated April 15, 1637, made him the Province's chief administrative clerk and financial officer. Lord Baltimore also seems to have given Lewger generous financial support; although destitute in 1635, Lewger arrived in Maryland with seven servants.¹¹

Shortly after his arrival, Lewger must have begun development of the 200-acre tract to the north of the Governor's Field. By the following winter a large house was constructed and in public use. On February 11, 1639, Governor Leonard Calvert directed the freemen of Mattapany and St. Mary's Hundreds to meet at "our Secretarys house at St Johns there to make such nomination and Election of your Burgesses . . . for this next Assembly as you shall think fitt."¹²

The one-story, frame building they met in probably had a covering of clapboard—short, hand-split boards. The roof may have been clapboard or thatched. Inside, the main framing members were exposed; studs, lath, and plaster filled the panels between them (plaster fragments recovered from the cellar have lath marks on the back and timber impressions on the sides). The sills—the heavy horizontal timbers which supported the posts and studs—were also exposed. Unlike modern practice, the sills did not support the ends of the floor joists. Instead, the floor level was lower, with the joists resting on the cellar walls or the earth (hence we found humus filled depressions with erect flooring nails: Plate II).¹³

A chimney in the center of the house divided it into two large rooms. The hall, or all-purpose work and living room, was on the river or left side. Almost certainly this was one large, unpartitioned space without pantries, or the small dairy shed would not have been added at an early date. If the house plan followed common practice, the front door opened into the narrow corridor that connected the two rooms, while the stair was located in the corner of the hall behind the chimney. The other downstairs room was the "parlor"—Mr. and Mrs. Lewger's sitting room and bedroom. The closet mentioned in 1658 probably was located under the staircase, although it is possible that the end of the room was partitioned off for a nursery and storage.¹⁴

¹¹ Patent Liber 1, ff. 17, 19, ms., Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland (all mss. cited are at the Hall of Records unless otherwise indicated); Thomas A. Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Colonial and Federal* (4 vols.: New York, 1910–17), *Text*, pp. 350–51, 380–88; Anthony à Wood, *Athenae Oxoniensis*, Philip Bliss ed. (4 vols.: London, 1813), IV, pp. 696–97; *Maryland Archives*, III, pp. 53–54.

¹² *Maryland Archives*, I, p. 28.

¹³ For similar floor frames, see J. Frederick Kelly, *The Early Domestic Architecture of Connecticut* (New Haven, Conn., 1924), pp. 25–26; P. J. Huggins, "Excavation at Sewardstone Street, Weltham Abbey, Essex, 1966," *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, III (1969), pp. 54, 60.

¹⁴ Barley, *English Farmhouse and Cottage*, p. 71.



Plate II: Excavator uncovering the line of nails of a hall joist. The pairs of nails mark the edges of floor boards.

Above, in the loft, the maid servants, John, Jr., and perhaps Lewger's clerk slept in crowded chambers. Inventories suggest that most attics were also used for the storage of trunks, grain, wool, flax, and seldom used farm tools that needed to be kept dry. Under the house, the small, stone-walled cellar would have kept perishables cool but frost free.

The house could not have stood alone on St. John's. While all of Lewger's household may have crowded into the main dwelling at first, eventually there must have been a quartering house for the field workers and cottages if there were married servants. The farm, at a minimum, would have required tobacco curing houses, coops for Lewger's chickens, and pens for the dairy cattle and sheep. To date, research has not located or even proved the existence of these other buildings.

The excavations have uncovered another part of the St. John's landscape, traces of the fences which enclosed the house. Narrow ditches from the front and rear corners of the dwelling neatly delineate rectangular yards. Impressions on the bottoms of these ditches show that they supported closely-spaced pales (pickets) cut from saplings. Above the back-filled ditch, other brushwood, woven horizontally, created

cheap and tight, but temporary, "wattle" fences. Lewger may have reinforced his front yard fence with a ditch and bank.

The plan of St. John's is that of a center-chimney, two-unit farmhouse. Lewger would have seen many comparable buildings in the wealthy farming districts around London or in Essex. They were modern and popular. Compared to the earlier smoky houses, with their unenclosed hearths in halls open to the roof, the center-chimney farmhouse was comfortable and efficient, but the size of Lewger's new house was modest by English standards. In the prosperous southeast, four-room houses were the homes of middling farmers and poor vicars. In Essex, wealthy farmers' and gentlemen's homes had full second floors and service wings—perhaps nine to fourteen rooms in all.¹⁵

By colony standards, St. John's was large. It was one of the first permanent structures in the province. Only the previous spring Captain Cornwalleys had written proudly to Lord Baltimore that he was building a story-and-a-half house with brick fireplaces and cellar "*toe Encourage others toe follow my Example,*" explaining that "heithertoe wee Liue in Cottages." At Snow Hill, just north of St. John's Freehold, the manor house was enclosed in 1638, but the chimney was not inserted until 1639. It contained a hall, parlor, and little parlor with chambers above. Descriptions of two of Leonard Calvert's dwellings also indicate that the size of St. John's was typical of first generation gentry homes. Late seventeenth-century inventories of the "Country's House", probably originally Leonard Calvert's house, suggest that its nucleus was a hall and parlor, with attic chambers. A 1642 sale contract establishes that Calvert's unfinished manor house south of St. Mary's City, at "Pinie neck," was planned as a two-unit, center-chimney house, although in 1642 it had neither foundations, partition, or chimney.¹⁶

Secretary Lewger's house was a meeting place for the assembly, council, and Provincial Court. It was also his office. In addition to functioning as the colony's chief bureaucrat, Lewger administered the proprietary estates, and his correspondence and accounts are full of references to the receipt of rents and the increase of livestock. Some of Lord Baltimore's livestock was kept at St. John's, though by 1644 wolves had reduced the sheep flock to four ewes and two rams.¹⁷

Most of the time, the activities which took place around the St. John's dwelling were the chores of any large tidewater farm. The records tell us little about these daily concerns, the raising of tobacco and corn, the garden and the dairy. By implication we know that there was a great deal of livestock, and Lewger kept a large flock of chickens—in 1639 he wrote his Lordship that he could furnish him with "50 or 60. breeding henns at any time." (A sheep skeleton was recovered last summer only 26

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 71, 139-42.

¹⁶ *Calvert Papers, Number One*, p. 174 (italics original); *Maryland Archives*, IV, pp. 79-85, 108-111, 189, 321; Testamentary Proceedings 3, ff. 127-59, ms.; Inventories and Accounts 10, ff. 111-14, ms.

¹⁷ *Maryland Archives*, I, pp. 27-89, 103, 120, 212-33; 111, p. 144; IV, pp. 253, 275-79, 307, 470-73, 480-81; *Calvert Papers, Number One*, pp. 196-99.

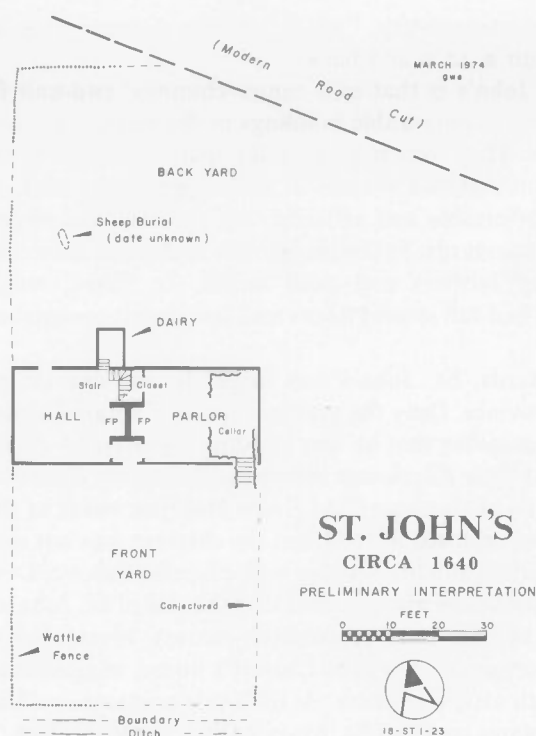


Figure I

feet behind the house. A tiny skeletal fetus in the abdomen suggests that the sheep was a sick ewe brought up to the house in a futile attempt to nurse it back to health.) Documents tell us the names of some of Lewger's servants: Thomas Todd, a skin dresser; a black man, Mathias de Sousa; and Indian Peter, a hunter licensed "to carry a gonne for the use of John Lewger." But beyond this, the records are silent.¹⁸

Lewger was a good official, "very serviceable and diligent in his secretaries place . . . and a very faithfull and able assistant" to Governor Calvert. But he was much embroiled in the conflicts that beset the colony in its early years. His financial ventures were also less than successful. As a part-time merchant and the owner of a ketch, he was involved in endless suits to recover bad debts and fell heavily into debt himself. Late in 1647 or early in 1648, he returned to England for a simpler life as chaplain to Lord Baltimore's household.¹⁹

¹⁸ *Calvert Papers, Number One*, pp. 198-99; *Maryland Archives*, IV, pp. 138, 156, 243, 283; III, p. 143.

¹⁹ "Letter of Governor Leonard Calvert to Lord Baltimore, 1638," in *Narratives of Early Maryland*, Clayton Colman Hall, ed. (New York, 1910), p. 158; Hughes, *The History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Text*, I, pp. 377, 403, 409, 417-20; *Calvert Papers, Number One*, pp. 194-95; *Maryland Archives*, IV, pp. 188-89, 202; X, p. 66; I, pp. 214-30, 268; III, p. 217; Wood, *Athenae Oxoniensis*, pp. 696-97.

Lewger left St. John's, heavily mortgaged, to his son, John, who sold it in 1650 to Henry Fox. It then consisted of the 200-acre freehold and 800 acres attached but unpatented. In 1653 or 1654 Fox transferred the property to Simon Overzee, merchant, of Virginia and Maryland.²⁰

Overzee was a shrewd, ruthless entrepreneur rapidly amassing a large estate. He had come to Virginia in the late 1640's as a young man of nineteen or twenty. Evidence suggests that he was the son of a prosperous Dutch merchant living in England; although English born, Overzee was fluent in Dutch. Upon his arrival, he improved his position with a good marriage to Sarah Thoroughgood, stepdaughter of Colonel Francis Yardley of Lynnhaven, Lower Norfolk County, Virginia. There her family owned thousands of acres, and there the Overzees first established their household and business.²¹

In 1651 Overzee took up 550 acres on Portoback Creek adjacent to lands his brother-in-law, Job Chandler, was developing, and with Chandler he purchased an additional 2,000 acres in the same area. By January 1654 he was moving "household stuffe" to St. John's. Although fifty miles from his Charles County lands, St. John's was an excellent choice for Overzee's dwelling. It gave him easy access to the Provincial Court and an opportunity to socialize with two of the judges, Governor William Stone and Chancellor Philip Calvert. Residing in St. Mary's City did not limit his operations; Overzee was rarely at home. Throughout the 1650's, the records frequently refer to Overzee as "Merchant of Virginia."²²

In October, 1659, Overzee had a guest at St. John's, Augustine Herrman, a Bohemian merchant come as an envoy from Peter Stuyvesant, Director-General of the New Netherlands. Herrman's party arrived in St. Mary's City on October 7, paid a courtesy visit to Councillor Philip Calvert on Pope's Freehold and was given passage across the creek to "Mr. Symon Overzee's, to whom we were very welcome guests." The next day the Councillor was invited to dine. Before the meal, Calvert and Herrman "conversed about New Netherlands and Virginia, and the conveniences of both," before beginning serious discussion of their provinces' conflicting claims to the Delaware River. Augustine Herrman stayed with Overzee for over a week until the next meeting of the Governor's council. Although Herrman was impatient to get back to New Amsterdam, he and Overzee apparently had much to talk about. Shortly thereafter the two merchants began an ambitious three-year partnership.²³

The depositions mentioned earlier tell us a little about Overzee's plantation. A

²⁰ *Maryland Archives*, X, p. 70; Rent Roll 0, f. 5.

²¹ Fleet, *Virginia Colonial Abstracts*, XXXI, pp. 7-8, 15, 20-30, 51, 90; "Journal of the Dutch Embassy to Maryland, by Augustine Herrman, 1659," in *Narratives of Early Maryland*, p. 325; *Maryland Archives*, III, pp. 298, 366; XLI, pp. 207-08, 312; Annie Lash Jester and Martha Woodroof Hiden, eds., *Adventures of Purse and Person, Virginia, 1607-1625* (n.p., 1964), pp. 329-33.

²² Patent Liber Q, ff. 439-40, ms.; *Maryland Archives*, XLI, pp. 147, 186-87, 205, 235-36, 417, 499; III, pp. 298, 305-06; X, p. 343; LIII, p. 12; *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XXXVIII, pp. 390-91.

²³ "Journal of the Dutch Embassy," pp. 310-33; *Maryland Archives*, XLI, pp. 389-91, 403-05, 425, 440-41, 461.

quartering house sheltered his indentured servants, a black woman, and an Indian slave. In 1658 the farm was managed by an overseer, John Williams, who raised tobacco and corn on shares; his wife managed the dairy. There was a separate dairy building (so the churning and cheese making no longer took place in the dwelling), but the hall was still a kitchen as well as a living room. When Mary Clocker's son arrived at the house to fetch some salt, he found "diuers of the seruants & John Williams" gathered in "M^r Ouerzees Kitchen." The adjacent room, the parlor, was described in the court records as Mrs. Overzee's chamber. The closet was used as a pantry "for meate & other necessities of houshold." Locked trunks held spices, clothing, and bedding. Most of Mrs. Overzee's wardrobe was stored in a "Greate Dutch Trunk." Her dresses were kept in the top. Below in "the Vnder Drawers" were her small linens—bodices, Flanders lace neck pieces, and fine Holland aprons. When Job Chandler came down from Charles County, he stayed in one of the loft chambers. A trunk in the chamber held remnants of cloth, sewing notions, and extra stockings. An adjacent cabinet held other small things—thread, binding tape, and a paper of pins.²⁴

It was a prosperous and perhaps, for the time and place, a luxurious household, but it was not a happy one. Overzee was a vicious man at home.

In September, 1656, the merchant came home to find that his wife had chained up a black servant. The slave, a habitual runaway, had been sent down from the Portoback plantation for "correction" and medical treatment. Overzee released the black man, Tony, and ordered him to go to work. When he refused, but lay down and feigned (?) to be sick, Overzee cut switches from a pear tree and whipped him. When he still made no sign of "conforming himselfe to his Masters will or command," Overzee called for a hot fire shovel and lard, melted the lard, and poured it on the slave's bare back. The pain caused Tony to jump up, but he still refused to obey, at which Overzee ordered him tied by the wrists to a ladder leaning against the "foreside of the dwelling howse." Then Mr. and Mrs. Overzee went out for the evening.

The servants wanted to cut Tony down, but were afraid. Earlier, when William Hewes had offered to help Tony to his feet, Overzee had threatened to knife Hewes. Three hours later, Antonio, the black man who refused to be a slave, died.

Eventually the circumstances of Antonio's death became known, and Overzee was indicted. Subsequent testimony established that Overzee's cruelty had been nicely calculated. The servants testified that the pear switches were within the legal size (the diameter of a man's finger at the largest end) and had not drawn blood. The lard had not blistered Antonios's back, and when tied to the ladder his feet had been on the ground. The testimony also established that the black man had a dangerously infected hand, which might have caused his death. The court acquitted Overzee. Neither he nor his judges may have understood that when Antonio, tied to the ladder, fainted, the pressure on his lungs may have suffocated him.²⁵

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 206–13.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 190–91, 204–06, 210–13. This was a form of torture similar to crucifixion. Personal communication from J. Patrick Jarboe, M.D. See Pierre Barbec, *A Doctor at Calvary* (New York, 1953), pp. 75–76.



THE ST. MARY'S TOWNLANDS, 1667

Map 1

Overzee's employees hated him, some actively, the others enough not to protect his property. After Sarah Overzee's death in childbirth in October, 1658, Mrs. Williams, the overseer's wife, and the wetnurse, Mary Clocker, spent the best part of a week casually pillaging the house. They took spices, notions, and pieces of finery, motivated more from bitterness and envy than hope for profit. When Mary Williams warned Mary Clocker that it would not be safe to wear the clothes she was taking, she replied, "Hang him (as she conceaues M^r Overzee) rather than euer hee shall haue them, I will burne them."²⁶

The thefts were quickly discovered and the goods recovered. John and Mary Williams and Mary Clocker were convicted of felony, sentenced to hang, and pardoned. Perhaps it is a measure of community opinion that Mary Clocker's husband, Daniel of St. Andrew's (Map 1), carpenter, was able to sue and collect his wife's wages as wetnurse and his own bill for constructing Mrs. Overzee's coffin.²⁷

St. John's had a new mistress soon thereafter. By March, 1659, Overzee married Elizabeth, daughter of Captain Thomas Willoughby of Lower Norfolk. A year later, "sodenly, not making any will," the merchant died, aged 32. In the seventeenth

²⁶ *Maryland Archives*, XLI, pp. 206-13.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 327, 335.

century, tidewater life was short and strenuous. In January, 1661, Elizabeth Overzee remarried and moved to Northumberland County, Virginia. Perhaps she left tenants at St. John's, but the dwelling house must have been relatively unoccupied. It returned to public use immediately.²⁸

In April, 1661, the Assembly convened again at St. John's, and the following January Maryland's new Governor held his second council meeting there. Charles Calvert had personal reasons for trying out the rooms at St. John's; it may have been the only large house vacant in the vicinity. Leonard Calvert's and William Stone's old house was occupied by Hannah Lee's tavern, an indispensable institution for the capital. By the time the council met again at St. John's in May, Calvert must have decided to acquire the property. In England, his father, Cecilius, Lord Baltimore, was aware of the decision by September. Overzee's widow was compensated with leases to Charles County lands.²⁹

In 1663 the council met frequently in the Governor's home and continued to meet there occasionally into 1666. The house of these meetings was different from that of 1638: heightened, tiled, and with a separate kitchen. Although we do not know when the house was rebuilt, it seems likely that Governor Calvert improved the structure. There are eight months following May, 1662, during which there were no recorded public meetings at St. John's. During this time the council met three times at "St. Mary's," probably at Widow Lee's tavern. This would have been adequate time for carpenters and masons to rebuild the house.³⁰

Scraps of the second house (glass, roof tile, broken hardware) have been recovered from the cellar, but the critical information is provided by the superimposed chimneys in the center of the house. Except for fragments of its foundation, the first chimney was removed completely, and a new chimney was constructed against the rear wall of the house (Figure 2). Its remnants indicate that the remodeled building continued the room plan and use of Lewger's house. The deeply burned earth beneath the west, or hall, hearth, shows that it held the principal fire, while the angled corners of the east room fireplace indicate that it was not intended for even light cooking. Presumably the east room was "my parlor," of which Charles Calvert spoke.³¹

While the room plan remained the same, the change altered the traffic flow. Moving the chimney to the back of the house created room in the entry for a winding stair up the end of the chimney—a much more convenient location than the corner of the hall and more essential now that the house had a second full floor. Above the second floor, servants may have occupied garrets lighted by cross gables. Except for St. John's new roof of interlocking pantile, the enlarged building could have looked much like several seventeenth-century frame houses that still survive in Massachusetts.³²

²⁸ Christopher Johnson, "Thoroughgood and Chandler Families", *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, III, pp. 322-24; Charles F. Cochran, "Early Generations of the Newton Family of Westmoreland County Virginia," *Ibid.*, XXXVI, pp. 298-99; *Maryland Archives*, XLI, pp. 365-66.

²⁹ Patent Liber 5, f. 421, ms.; *Calvert Papers, Number One* pp. 258-60; *Maryland Archives*, II, 122.

³⁰ *Maryland Archives*, III, pp. 452-81; 485-87; I, 406-07.

³¹ *Calvert Papers, Number One*, p. 239.

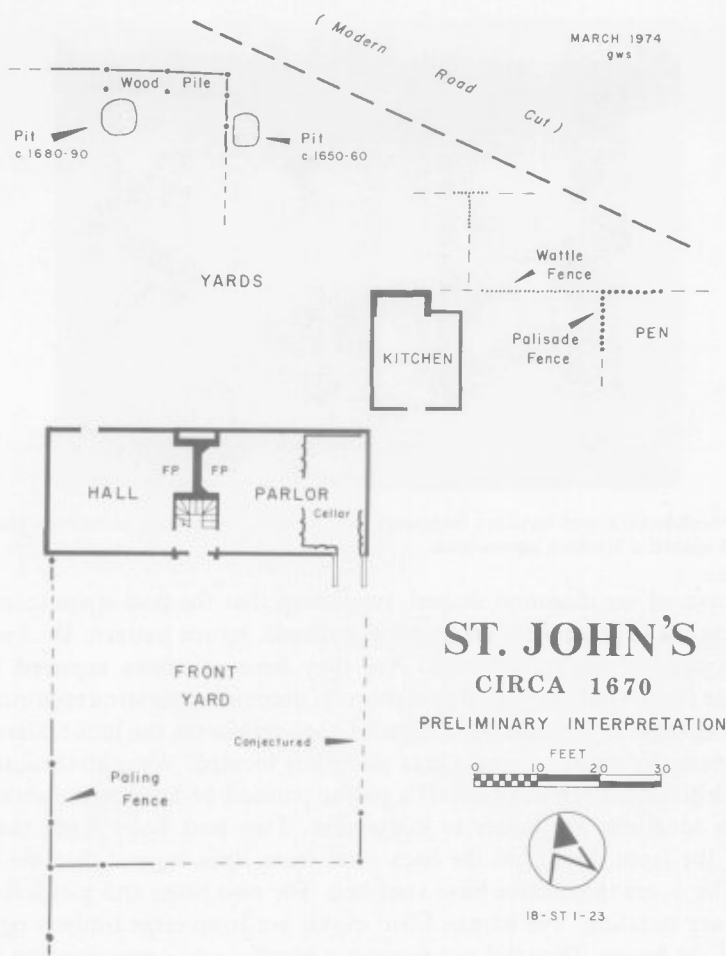


Figure 2

A skilled bricklayer built the second chimney. While he laid the footing in strong, simple, English bond, the mason switched to the more decorative Flemish bond at floor level. Why he did so is puzzling—the fireplace masonry was given a protective, heat reflecting coat of white plaster before the construction ditches were completely backfilled—but obviously the mason was a competent craftsman capable of finishing off the chimney with a decorative cap.

While the foundations establish the plan of the remodeled St. John's, its elevations are still a question. We have details, but not the whole. Most of the window quarrels

³² The Parson Capen House, Topsfield, and the John Ward House, Salem (without the 18th-century rear shed) are good examples. Hugh Morrison, *Early American Architecture* (N.Y., 1952), pp. 57-59, 62-63. For an English parallel see Barley, *English Farmhouse and Cottage*, p. 70.

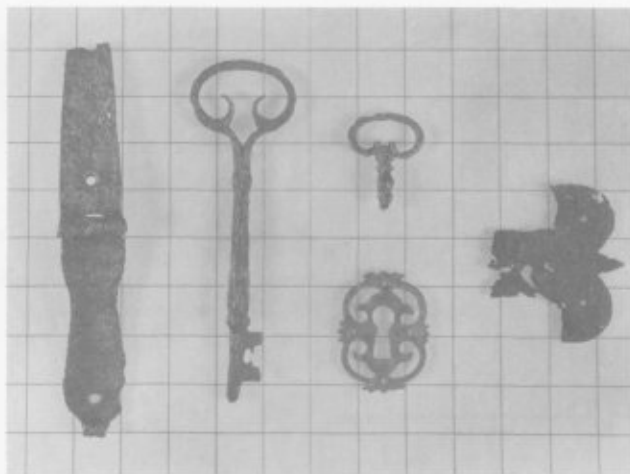


Plate III: Architectural and furniture fragments: hinges, keys, and a brass escutcheon plate. Items are photographed against a one-inch square grid.

(panes) recovered are diamond shaped, suggesting that the lead strips (came) which held the quarrels in place were arranged in a simple, lattice pattern. Dr. Forman also recovered pieces of square quarrels. Are they from windows repaired by a later workman, or from windows glazed in elaborate, decorative patterns requiring quarrels of different shapes? A fragment of a circular pane reinforces the latter possibility. But how large were the windows, and where were they located? Were all the interior walls they lighted plastered, or was Calvert's parlor paneled or hung with fabric?³³

The door locations are easier to conjecture. Two post holes flank the probable position of the front door, and the back yard fence lines suggest that the hall had a rear exit. The doors themselves have vanished. The post holes and molds flanking the front door are puzzling. The humus filled molds are from large timbers right against the front of the house. They did not support a porch, as no corresponding holes were found in front of the house. Perhaps the holes are from crude pilasters supporting a cornice above the door.

In front of the house, fence lines continued to delineate a simple yard, though Overzee's and Calvert's fences were constructed with posts, rails, and pales rather than the less permanent wattles. Behind the house, the later yards are more complex, with separate enclosures behind the parlor and hall. At the edge of the hall yard, three pairs of post holes may mark the position of the wood pile; we believe two adjacent pits were privies. Fence lines sprouting from the corners of the exterior kitchen may mark animal pens.

One of the owners of the house also improved the cellar. The collapsing rear wall was faced with brick, and a brick floor laid. Before the end of this summer, we should

³³ Forman, *Old Buildings, Gardens, and Furniture*, p. 17.

be able to date these changes by artifacts recovered from beneath the brick floor. The most interesting cellar change was the replacement of the early stone steps by an earth ramp with two cedar rails set into the top. At the foot of the ramp we found the humus trace of a platform. By using a rope, Calvert's servants or a later innkeeper could have rolled barrels of beer and cider down the cedar rails and onto the platform.

Calvert's house and kitchen—with five rooms and three lofts—was much larger than Lewger's, but it was still only a farmhouse. Even with outbuildings, St. John's must have been a crowded, busy place. Fortunately, a long letter survives to breathe some life into these rooms.³⁴ In April, 1664, the Governor wrote his father to answer his questions of the previous two years, and interspersed between reports of land patents and tobacco shipments are bits of news about the household. Calvert wrote he had "Thirty to provide victualls for, w^{ch} does putt me to some care & trouble." While some of his people were at his newly-seated plantation at West St. Mary's and his carpenter and other workmen may already have left to begin constructing a mill, most of the thirty must have been at St. John's. Besides Charles Calvert and his clerk, there was Mr. White, apparently an idling young gentleman, who found frontier life did not "please him soe much as that he lead in Italy." Also present was the Governor's cousin, Anne Calvert. She had been sent to Maryland to find a husband, and "as yett noe good Match does p^rsent, but I hope in a short time she may find one to her owne content." Meantime—Charles's first wife having died—Anne had "the care of my houshold affaires," assisted by two maids. There were frequent guests in the house, including two who had been recommended to Lord Baltimore for service in Maryland. One was a doctor who proved to be an indifferent surgeon and an atheist, and the other was a clergyman who drank more than "fitting for a person of his coat."

Calvert felt himself a busy and harassed young man. Besides his accounts for his father (and the sheriffs never turned in their books on time) and substituting for the Secretary in his absence, Calvert had to smooth over problems created by his arrogant uncle, the Chancellor, and tend his own enterprises.

St. John's was still a working plantation. Besides the tobacco and corn, the Governor, with Lord Baltimore's help, was experimenting with other crops to lessen the colony's dependence on tobacco. In 1663 he had sown two and a half acres of wheat, oats, and field peas. The straw had been fed to his young cattle and stabled horses, and the grain was replanted. Calvert wrote that, with good weather, he hoped to harvest 300 bushels of wheat in 1664. He thanked his father for the hemp and flax seed, which had been sown and was beginning to come up. There was also a tanyard on St. John's, since the Calverts hoped to develop leather as an export. Proclamation had been made that rents [taxes] could be paid in hides, and the Governor had given a tanner, Mr. Jackson, "a spot of ground hard by me for his Tann Fatts & lent him a House to putt his Bark in."

Someplace about the dwelling house were a large garden and orchard in 1664. Besides apples and pears, there were bearing peach trees, and Charles hoped to be able

³⁴ *Calvert Papers, Number One*, pp. 229–252. Quotations are from pp. 246, 244, 247, 238, 236.

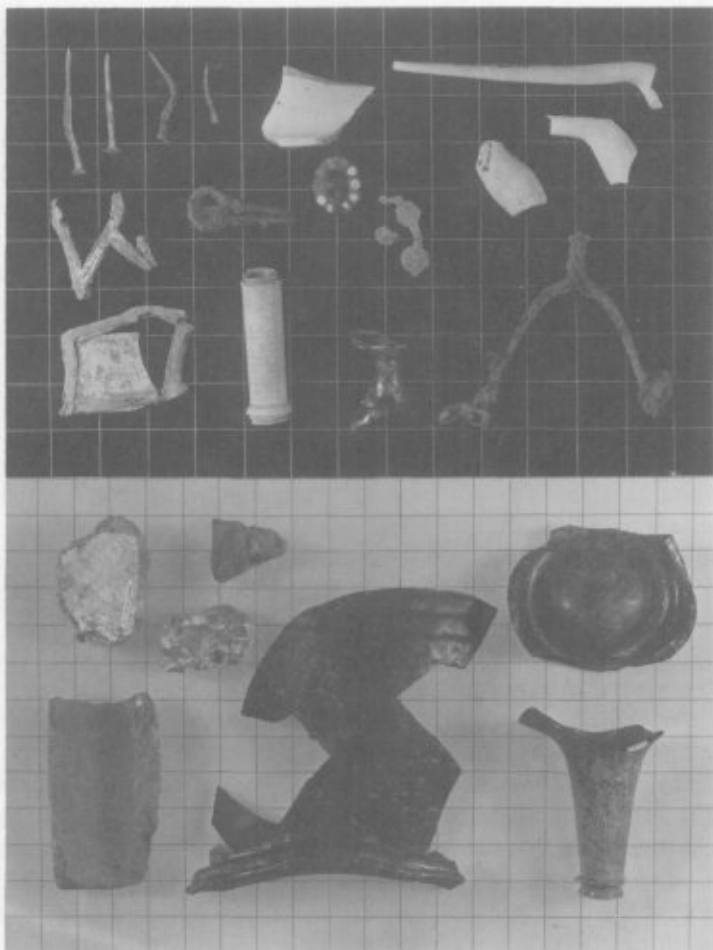


Plate IV: St. John's in the late seventeenth century, the evidence of a pit of *circa* 1680-90: building rubble—pantile, red and yellow brick, plaster, lead (came), and glass from diamond and rectangular quarrels, nails—bottle, black-glazed butter pot, spur, drinking glass stem, bone coupling, pipes, lead tax seal, brass clasp with paste stones, and delft chamberpot sherd.

to send his father dried peaches. His father had shipped him garden seed, including half a bushel of beans, and a pair of garden shears. Possibly Calvert kept the gardens and yards in better order than they had been in the early 1650's, when the front yard was a trashy mess (a construction ditch of that date for a wattle fence contained several sacks of garbage bone and sherds).

Lord Baltimore was intensely curious about the province and home he had never seen. His son promised to speak to Augustine Herrman—an excellent cartographer and then a Maryland resident—"about a particular Mapp for S^t. Johns & West St Marys, M^r. White has done some thing [map, drawing?] as to the House & Orchard of

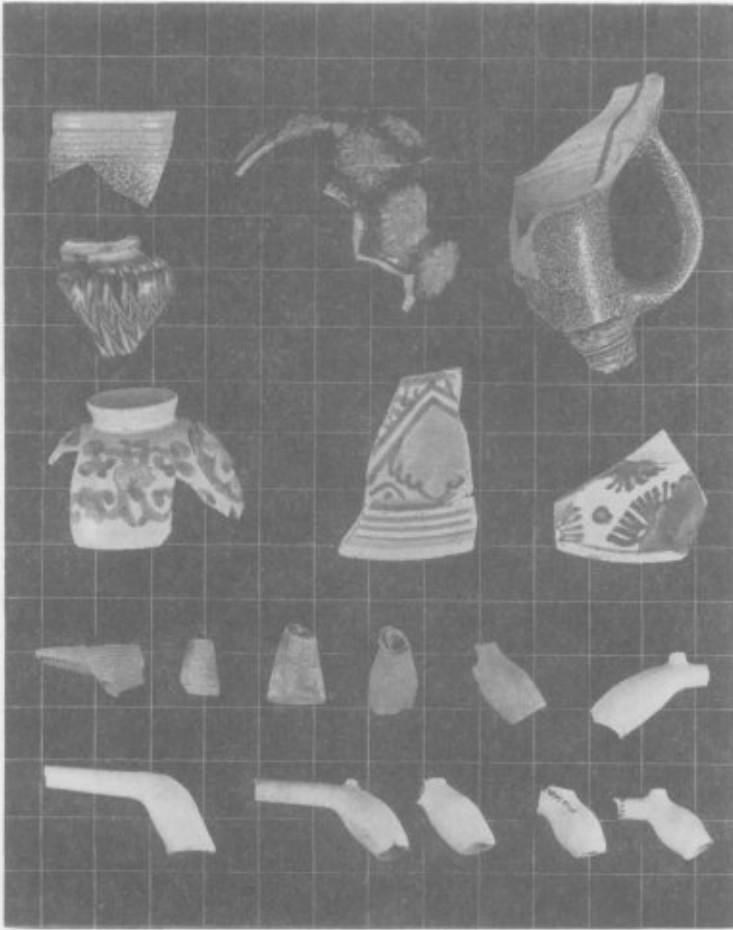


Plate V: Archaeological finds, identifiable finds:

Row 1: Tobacco pipe bowls, English or Dutch: first and second, 1620–60; third, 1660–80 (marked “EB,” Edward Battle of Bristol?); fourth, 1650–80; fifth, early eighteenth century.

Row 2: Tobacco pipe bowls: first, Dutch, late seventeenth century; second, Virginia, plain; third, Virginia, decorated with incised heart and floral designs (marked “B(?)R”); fourth, Virginia, geometric design (aboriginal type punctate decoration filled with white clay); fifth, Virginia, deer decoration; sixth, Maryland Indian, fragment of bird effigy.

Row 3: Tin-glazed earthenware: dish, late seventeenth century; polychrome dish, early seventeenth century; bowl, late seventeenth century.

Row 4: Earthenware cup, slip-decorated, Staffordshire, England.

Row 5: Stoneware: bottle from Cologne or Frechen; drinking pot from the Westerwald, late seventeenth century; mug from Staffordshire, early eighteenth century.

S^t Johns w^{ch} I presume he’ll send y^r. Lopp this shipping.” Unfortunately for the archaeologists’ curiosity, these drawings and most of the Calverts’ correspondence have not survived.

In 1665 Lord Baltimore instructed that St. John’s be formally created a manor. A

thousand acres were to be attached to the mansion house, with up to 6,000 additional acres added as rental property. Nothing may have been done about this. In 1666 Governor Calvert married widow Jane Sewell, owner of 1,200 acres on the Patuxent River. The following winter, sometime between October, 1666, and March, 1667, Calvert moved his household to her plantation. There at Mattapany-Sewall, Calvert built "a fair House of Brick and Timber, with all Out-houses, and other Offices therto belonging."³⁵

Relatively little is known about St. John's after the Governor's move. Apparently, like another vacant farmhouse, the Jesuits' house on St. Mary's Hill (Map 1), it was part of the time an inn for visitors to the capital. In 1673 and 1678–1681, Charles de la Roche and then Henry Exon are known to have been innkeepers there. For a while Charles Calvert may have used the house occasionally as his "Cittie" residence. The council met there in September of 1674 and the Governor entertained there lavishly during the assembly that met the following February. A year later the Provincial Court was held at St. John's and the council met there again. But the house was evidently deteriorating. When after debate the assembly of 1674 decided to keep the capital at St. Mary's City and built a new state house, landowners subscribed a fund to build the Governor a brick house just across the river at West St. Mary's. Although this house may never actually have been constructed—no additional reference to such a house has been found—nothing indicates that Charles Calvert ever occupied St. John's himself after 1675 or 1676.³⁶

The house evidently continued to decay, for trash in a pit filled in the 1680's included plaster, brick, and crumpled lead and glass. Nevertheless St. John's continued to be used heavily. Artifacts from the late seventeenth century (Rhenish stoneware drinking pots and clay tobacco pipes from Bristol, England) are numerous. The pipes are particularly useful for dating purposes, as many bear makers's marks. Pipes from the shop of Llewellyn Evans ("LE"), circa 1661–1686, are especially common. Even unmarked pipes can be roughly dated by bowl shape and stem bore diameter (Plate V).³⁷

The records tell that Josias Fendall's trial for treason was held at St. John's in 1681, and the council met in the house a final time in 1687, when Charles Calvert was in England. The following year the building held the colony's probate office, and it was still there in 1693. This is the last documentary reference to the house of Lewger, Overzee, and Calvert, but pipe bowls from the cellar floor suggest that the building continued to be used until the county court moved in 1708. Shortly thereafter, the

³⁵ Patent Liber 9, ff. 506–07, 511–12; John Bailey Calvert Nicklin, "The Calvert Family," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XVI (1921), p. 56; Ogilby, *America*, p. 189. Dating of move is based on meeting places of council and Provincial Court. See *Maryland Archives*, III, pp. 549–559; V, pp. 11–13; LVII, p. 158.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, XV, pp. 229–231; LXV, p. 636; LXX, p. 40; II, pp. 377, 432, 454, 469; XV, pp. 44, 65, 76–77; LXVI, pp. 49–101, 105–08; XIX, p. 72.

³⁷ Iain C. Walker, *The Bristol Clay Tobacco-Pipe Industry*, (Bristol, Eng., 1971), pp. 7–8, 18, 27.

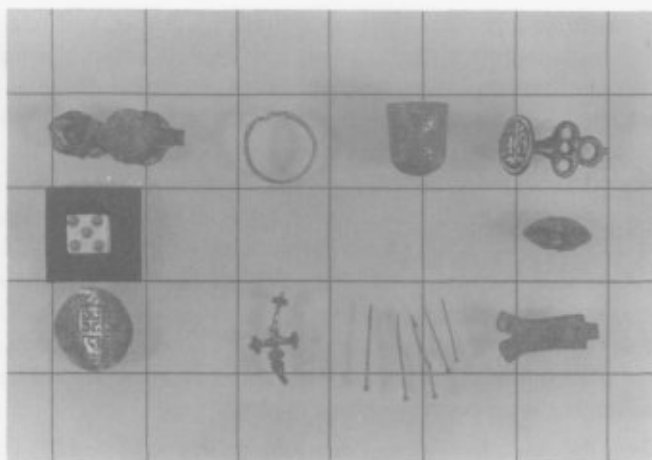


Plate VI: St. John's: small objects that fell through cracks in the floor or were lost in the yard.

Row 1 (left to right): Book hinge, straight pins, crucifix, sixpence of Charles I (1625–49).

Row 2: Upholstry tack, die.

Row 3: Seal for stamping documents ("RM"), thimble, gold ring, lead tax seal of William III (1688–1702).

structures either collapsed or were torn down. The Butler family, who leased the land in the early 1720's, clearly lived elsewhere.³⁸

Farmers removed most of the reuseable brick and tile. The abandoned site grew up into trees, and their tap roots twisted holes through the seventeenth-century levels around the house. Eventually the trees were cut and the surrounding field put into cultivation. To free more land, the garbage pile from the tavern kitchen and then the rubble of the house were pushed into the parlor cellar. By the early twentieth century, farmers were plowing straight across the foundations. Their plow shares cut furrows through the hearths and amputated the tops of construction ditches and post holes, but soon the field wore out and was abandoned, preserving the remaining archaeological record.

Much archaeological work remains. We have to complete excavation of the cellar and kitchen. We shall check further for additions at the ends of the house. If time permits, two more trenches will be dug to locate fence line corners. As the unexcavated halves of the two large pits are removed, soil samples will be collected and the remaining earth dissolved to recover any organic materials.

All the artifacts recovered from the 1972–1973 excavations have been cleaned and accessioned, but even after the excavation is closed down, an additional year's laboratory work will remain. This summer a graduate student in zooarchaeology will study the garbage bone for evidence of diet, butchering practices, and animal sizes.

³⁸ *Maryland Archives*, V, pp. 312, 542; Testamentary Proceedings 14, f. 124, ms.; 15A, f. 3, ms.; Wills 17, ff. 2–4, ms.

Experts will be asked to examine fish scales, plant materials, and soil samples. The identification of seeds or pollen from almost any domesticated plant will be useful. While documents mention the common field crops, almost nothing is known about seventeenth-century Maryland vegetable gardens. The greatest amount of work remaining is the tedious, time consuming sorting of building rubble and sherds. Nails analyzed by length may give some clues as to construction characteristics. Careful sorting can reduce a pile of sherds into ceramic types and then into individual drinking pots, jugs, butter pots, and bowls. Even publication of the report should not stop research on St. John's. Hopefully, another generation of archaeologists will search for the outlines of gardens and fields, the quartering house, stable, and Jackson's tanyard. By then archaeologists may wish to reexamine our artifact collection. Perhaps another Calvert letter on Mr. White's "some thing" may be found to shed more light on St. John's and Maryland's seventeenth-century capital.

Note: The following document, discovered in Patent Liber 19, ff. 627-28, since this article was written, will revise and extend the hypotheses presented. It is appended to a lease, dated March 25, 1678, of "our Manner House" and the 200-acre freehold to Henry Exson for seven years.

Appendix

A particular of the Reparations and other things to be made and done at the Mannor house and Lands at St. Johns agreed upon to be done by Henry Exson in Consideration of the Grant to him thereof made by the right Hon'ble the Lord Propry, and Hereunto annexed.

Imp^o: These Henry Exson is to underpin the great House and to make a new porch and Chamber over it.

Item ... He is to new Cover the said House with pantile to repair the old Chimneys and plaister the House.

Item ... He is to repair the Room called the Nursery and underpin it with Bricks and new Cover it and repair the plaistering.

Item ... He is to repair, pull down and Rebuild the Staircases if there be any necessary occasion for it.

Item ... He is to repair the Room called the Kitchen and the Store & chamber over them and to brick the Chimneys up to the Wall plate and daub and lath it up to the Top and Brick the Floor.

Item ... To repair the little House near to the Gate for a Quarter.

Item ... To Repair the Henhouse in the orchard the house next to the pasture and the Stables.

Item ... To Build a good new Oven and Build a Shade over it.

Item ... To Impale with good Clapboards a convenient peice of Ground for a Garden in the place were the Garden was formerly.

Item ... To make a Sufficient fence Round the Orchard and Pasture.

Item ... To make such good fruit Trees as shall happen to dye or be blown down in orch. by planting others in their places and neatly prune all the fruit Trees.

Opportunity and Inequality: The Distribution of Wealth on the Lower Western Shore of Maryland, 1638–1705

RUSSELL R. MENARD

P. M. G. HARRIS

LOIS GREEN CARR

POLITICIANS, JOURNALISTS, AND scholars have made equality a central theme in commentary on American society, both past and present. Usually, the focus has been on equality of opportunity, on the degree to which society permits all men and women to realize their full potential and to compete as equals for education, income, status, and power. Often, the concern has been with the results of the competition, whether measured in terms of the proportion of persons in leadership positions who rose from humble beginnings or through inquiry into the distribution of wealth. Historians of colonial America have long shared an interest in such questions. Recently, guided by the techniques of the social sciences, they have brought new precision to their investigations, particularly to the measurement of wealth distribution.¹

In the absence of tax records or other listings of property, estate inventories taken when a property owner died are a useful source for the study of wealth in seventeenth-century Maryland. They list and value all moveable property, often in great detail. Empty bottles, pots and pans, yard goods, livestock, slaves and servants,

¹ On wealth distribution in the American colonies, see, for examples, Aubrey C. Land, "Economic Base and Social Structure: The Northern Chesapeake in the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of Economic History*, XXV (1965), pp. 639–54; Land, "Economic Behavior in a Planting Society: The Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake," *Journal of Southern History*, XXXIII (1967), pp. 469–85; Jackson T. Main, *The Social Structure of Revolutionary America* (Princeton, 1965); James A. Henretta, "Economic Development and Social Structure in Colonial Boston," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., XXII (1965), pp. 75–92; James T. Lemon and Gary B. Nash, "The Distribution of Wealth in Eighteenth-Century America: A Century of Changes in Chester County, Pennsylvania, 1693–1802," *Journal of Social History*, II (1968), pp. 1–24; Allan Kulikoff, "The Progress of Inequality in Revolutionary Boston," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., XXVIII (1971), pp. 375–412; Alice Hanson Jones, "Wealth Estimates for the American Middle Colonies, 1774," *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, XVIII, no. 4, pt. 2 (1970); Jones, "Wealth Estimates for the New England Colonies about 1770," *Journal of Economic History*, XXXII (1972), pp. 98–127; Gloria Lund Main, *Measuring Wealth and Welfare: Explorations in the Use of Probate Records from Colonial Maryland and Massachusetts, 1650–1750* (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1973). We are indebted to Ms. Jones and Ms. Main for sharing with us their insight into the use of probate records.

debts receivable—all a man's assets except land and its improvements appear. These could not be hidden or removed and in Maryland escaped the inventory. For historians, this omission is unfortunate, since real property was a major portion of many estates. However, wills, deeds, patents, and quit-rent rolls make it possible to determine in many cases whether or not a decedent owned land and often precisely how much he owned. Most inventories are accompanied by administration accounts, which show debts payable by the estate to creditors and the final balance due to the heirs.

Probate inventories are an invaluable source for study of the use and distribution of wealth. They are also somewhat intractable, presenting students with several difficulties that must be overcome before their potential can be exploited. Their detail, perhaps their most valuable characteristic, is at first encounter alarming; ways of organizing it, of grouping assets into a few manageable categories and of abstracting without sacrificing too much of the insight that a full inventory can yield, must be devised. Values must be made comparable over time so that inflation or deflation does not conceal or exaggerate change. Finally, the inventories cannot be assumed to constitute a representative sample of the living population of property owners. The estates of the very rich or the very poor, for example, might be inventoried with less frequency than estates of middling planters. Even if the reporting of estates is complete, probate records are biased towards older adults, and age is an important determinant of both total wealth and patterns of investment, particularly in a society permitting extensive economic mobility.

With what we hope is an adequate awareness of these pitfalls, we are undertaking a study of 1735 inventories and related administration accounts filed in Calvert, Charles, Prince George's, and St. Mary's counties from 1658 to 1705.² The four counties are contiguous, occupying more than 1600 square miles on the lower Western Shore of Maryland, and include some of the best tobacco land along the Chesapeake. Approximately 140 Englishmen arrived in the region on the *Ark* and the *Dove* in 1634; by 1704 more than 13,000 settlers lived in the four counties. This rapid growth must not be allowed to obscure another important fact about the region's demographic history. High rates of mortality and morbidity, a predominance of males, and a late age at first marriage for immigrant women meant that population did not increase by natural means during much of the seventeenth century. Continued growth depended instead upon immigration. Consequently, as late as the early eighteenth century most decedent property owners were immigrants, although by that time the

² The inventories are in the following ms. volumes, all at the Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis: Testamentary Proceedings, 1-5, 16; Inventories and Accounts, 1-25; Charles County Court and Land Records, Q no. 1. This essay is a preliminary and partial report on a St. Mary's City Commission project, "Social Stratification in Maryland, 1658-1705," funded by the National Science Foundation (GS-32272). A report on findings will be submitted to the National Science Foundation shortly and will be available from the Commission to interested students. Other essays based on the project are now being prepared for publication.

native-born may have become a majority among all adults.³ It was tobacco which kept drawing new settlers to the region. Tobacco farming remained the primary occupation in the four counties throughout the colonial period.

This essay examines inventories as indicators of wealth and its distribution to study accumulation, opportunity, the structure of society, and the direction of social change. The essay begins with a description of wealth patterns found in inventories, ignoring for the moment whether the men and women who left inventories fairly represent the entire wealth-owning population. In order to extend the analysis further back into the seventeenth century, the study includes 21 estate inventories taken in the four-county region between 1638 and 1642, the only substantial group of Maryland inventories that survives for the period before the beginning of the project.⁴ The essay next considers how measures of wealth must be adjusted to correct for possible biases in the sources. It concludes with an effort to account for the wealth patterns described by inventories through a brief examination of immigration, opportunity, and the growth of the Chesapeake economy.

Figure I presents annual mean and median total estate values calculated from probate inventories for the lower Western Shore between 1638 and 1705.⁵ Use of a semi-logarithmic scale makes *rates* or *proportions* of change, as opposed to absolute differences, more readily comparable; on such a scale an increase of 10 on a base of 100 appears as the same magnitude as an increase of 1 on a base of 10. A dotted line (referred to later as the "trend" or "base line") imposed on the graph of the annual data describes the long-term rate of change over the period and makes secular movements more visible.⁶

³ As late as 1700 to 1705, only about 10% of the decedents in the project are known to have been born in the colony. For population figures and the demography of the Chesapeake colonies in the seventeenth century, see Arthur Karinen, "Maryland Population, 1631-1730: Numerical and Distributional Aspects," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, LIV (1959), pp. 365-407; Wesley Frank Craven, *White, Red, and Black: The Seventeenth-Century Virginian* (Charlottesville, Va., 1971), pp. 1-37; Irene W. D. Hecht, "The Virginia Muster of 1624/5 as a Source for Demographic History," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., XXX (1973), pp. 65-92; Lorena S. Walsh and Russell R. Menard, "Death in the Chesapeake: Two Life Tables for Men in Early Colonial Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, below, in this issue; Menard, "Immigration to the Chesapeake Colonies in the Seventeenth Century: A Review Essay," *ibid.*, LXVIII (1973), pp. 323-29; Menard, "The Growth of Population in Early Colonial Maryland, 1631-1712," ms. report, St. Mary's City Commission, April, 1972.

⁴ The inventories for 1638 to 1642 are in *Archives of Maryland*, William Hand Browne, et al., eds. (72 vols. to date: Baltimore, 1883-), IV, pp. 30-33, 43-49, 73-113, hereafter cited as *Maryland Archives*.

⁵ In this essay total estate value is defined as net worth, including debts receivable, before debts payable were deducted. All values are in sterling money. Before 1681, most inventories were appraised in tobacco; they have been converted into sterling at the average price of tobacco in the year of the appraisal. For tobacco prices, see Russell R. Menard, "A Note on Chesapeake Tobacco Prices, 1618-1660," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, forthcoming, and Menard, "Farm Prices of Maryland Tobacco, 1659-1710," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, LXVIII (1973), pp. 80-85. After 1681, estates were appraised in sterling. Inventory-based price series indicate that appraised values are roughly comparable and that no exchange rates need be applied until well after 1705. Because of the small number of inventories in the two periods, estates appraised between 1638 and 1642 have been treated as if all were appraised in 1640, while those from 1658 to 1661 are assigned to 1660.

⁶ Identifying long-term trends underneath data which exhibit such violent fluctuations must be done

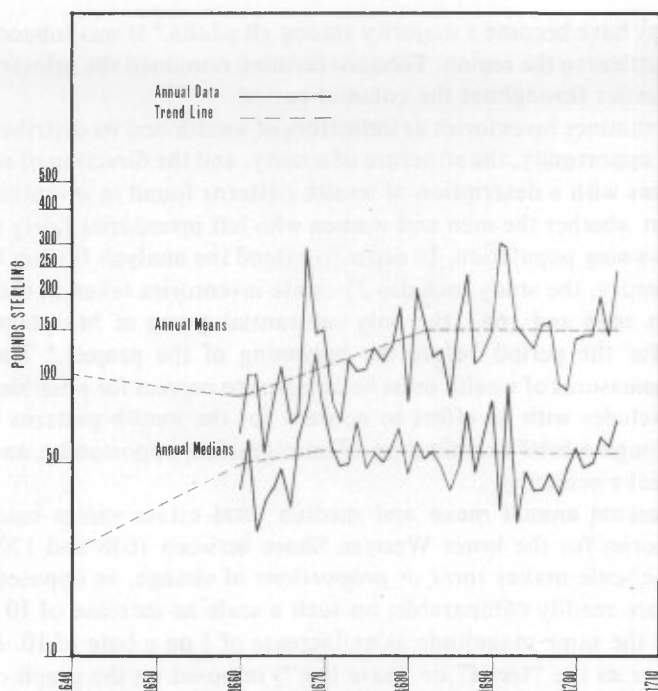


Figure I: Mean and Median Total Estate Value on the Lower Western Shore of Maryland, 1638–1705.

Secular trends in mean total estate value are readily apparent in Figure I, despite the often violent fluctuations about the base line. Between 1640 and 1660 the mean fell from slightly over £100 sterling to well under £100. Unfortunately, the precise pattern of change during that period escapes us because no inventories are available from 1643 to 1657. Mean wealth may have risen before falling or perhaps described a “V” pattern; inventories that survive for several Virginia counties in the 1640’s and 1650’s may yield some insight into the actual movement. Mean total estate value rose steadily from 1660 to the early 1680’s and then leveled out, fluctuating around the £150 sterling mark until the early eighteenth century.

The short-term fluctuation in the mean is probably related to Chesapeake trade cycles. The mean shows a strong tendency to peak and to reach bottom roughly five years after comparable movements in farm prices for tobacco. This cyclical pattern will be explored in more detail elsewhere; it is mentioned now only to suggest that fluctuations of the mean and median about the trend may not be as random as at first appears.⁷

carefully. Differences of opinion as to where movements begin and end are possible. Technical support for why certain descriptions of trends were chosen here is being provided elsewhere. However, with the exception of the two instances discussed below, we believe that the trends described here are readily apparent from visual inspection of the data.

⁷ On the importance of cyclical patterns in American history, see P. M. G. Harris, “The Social Origins of

TABLE I
Mean Total Estate Value in Calvert, Charles, Prince George's,
and St. Mary's Counties, 1658 to 1705

Date	Mean Total Estate Value £ Sterling
1658-1670	116.4
1671-1680	114.6
1681-1690	128.6
1691-1699	124.1
1700-1705	163.2

The measurement of these changes over time requires the use of short periods in order to let actual turning points and patterns emerge from the data. The use of previously determined time intervals—decades, thirty year generations, etc.—which may have no relation to the processes under study—can make it impossible to identify specific pivotal points, can suppress cyclical patterns, and can allow one pattern of change to be mistaken for another. For example, if we compared the estates of men who died in broad eras such as 1658 to 1680 and 1681 to 1705 and found a higher mean in the later period than in the earlier, we would still not be sure that the change did not occur long before or after 1680. Assuming a single step of change, furthermore, may diminish the difference between two periods if some “high” years are by chance combined with some “low” ones. Finally, it is possible to miss the actual pattern of change altogether, for it may be that the mean went down before going up. A “V” pattern could be read as a single step up solely because of the predetermined division date and the use of only one division. Employing short periods can prevent such an error. The finer gradations, of course, can always be consolidated to yield information on longer segments of time.

The behavior of mean total estate value illustrates this point. Table I presents means organized by relative long time units. The table suppresses any trace of the cyclicity evident in Figure I, yet the cyclical movement of the mean had a strong impact on the actual pattern. For example, the table registers a slight decline from the 1660's to the 1670's precisely because the first two cyclical highs—in the late 1660's and early 1680's—fall just before and after the 1670's. The table also distorts the trend, describing a level mean in the 1660's and 1670's, although the annual figures indicate an increase, and showing a sharp rise from the 1690's to the early eighteenth century, whereas the year by year data suggest that mean total estate value fluctuated around £150 sterling without any long-term upward movement from the

American Leaders: The Demographic Foundations,” *Perspectives in American History*, III (1969), pp. 159-344. On the timing of Chesapeake trade cycles, see the essays on tobacco prices cited in note 5, above; Lewis C. Gray, *The History of Agriculture in the Southern United States* (2 vols.: Washington, D.C., 1932), I, pp. 259-73; and John M. Hemphill, *Virginia and the English Commercial System, 1689-1733* (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1964).

early 1680's to 1705.⁸ Clearly, organization of the inventories by decades distorts some parts of the behavior of the mean, conceals others, and offers no analytical advantage over more finely graded data.

In the absence of inventories for the 1640's and 1650's, there are some difficulties in determining long-term trends in median total estate value. The evidence is clear for the period from 1670 onward. Despite sometimes violent fluctuations about the base line, the median after 1670 showed no secular tendency to change, hovering at just over £50 into the early eighteenth century. But several descriptions are possible for the period before 1670, depending upon the behavior of the median in the middle two decades of the century. It could be argued that the median increased steadily from 1638 to about 1670. On the other hand, a sufficiently high median in the 1650's would produce a level trend line from mid-century to 1705. A third pattern would show median wealth increasing in the 1660's, but at a slower rate than in the previous two decades. What is certain is that median total estate value was higher in 1660 than it was in 1640. Examination of Virginia inventories may yield some insight into whether or not the pattern of long-term stability found after 1670 should be extended back through the 1660's.

In wealth distributions, which typically contain a few very large estates and many more small ones, the relationship between the mean and median often provides a rough guide to changes in equality. The greater the distance between the mean and median, the greater the inequality. Between 1640 and 1660, the mean fell and the median rose; wealth, therefore, became more equitably distributed, although the precise pattern of change around mid-century has yet to be identified. From 1660 to the early 1680's, the mean rose sharply while the median leveled out at least by 1670, perhaps earlier; as a consequence, inequality increased. From the 1680's to the early eighteenth century, the mean and median show no tendency either to increase or decrease, instead fluctuating around level base lines, and the distribution remained stable.⁹

Changes in the wealth of men and women who left inventories do not necessarily reflect patterns in the population as a whole. Shifts in the proportion and type of estates appraised or in the relationship of the decedent to the living population which result from changes in mortality rates or the age composition of wealthowners could account for the pattern described by inventories. It is possible, for example, that mean total estate value of living wealthowners did not increase from 1660 to the early 1680's, but that estates of poor decedents were appraised with gradually diminishing

⁸ In part, this description assumes that the high values for 1703 to 1705 are cyclical and were followed by several years of lower mean wealth. We have grounds for predicting this cyclicity. If they prove unfounded, then mean total estate value began a long-term increase around 1700.

⁹ Other measures of distribution such as the Gini coefficient or the proportion of total wealth held by the richest 10% of property owners describe a pattern similar to that indicated by the relationship of mean and median.

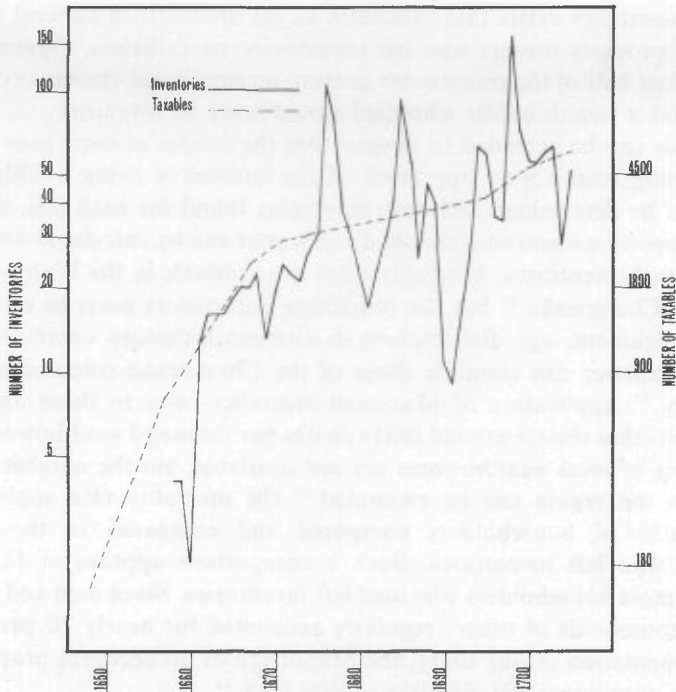


Figure II: Inventories and Taxables on the Lower Western Shore of Maryland, 1658–1705.

frequency. With wealth accumulating over the life cycle, a decline in the death rate which led to a rise in the difference in the average ages of the decedent and living populations could also account for the growth of mean total estate value found in probate records. It is essential to assess the relationship of the men and women who died and left inventories to the entire population of wealthowners. In particular, given the concern of this essay, we must discover whether that relationship changed across time in ways that could affect the findings.

A comparison of population growth in the four counties with the number of inventories filed per year is helpful in searching for possible changes in the proportion of decedent property owners whose estates were appraised. If, for example, the proportion declined over time, the gap between inventories and population should increase, unless changes such as aggravated mortality or a rise in the fraction of the population who owned property offset the impact of the lower level of reporting. Figure II plots taxables in the four counties against the number of inventories filed. It indicates a fairly constant relationship between population and inventories on the lower Western Shore between 1658 and 1705. The gap is slightly larger in the 1660's and 1670's than later, reflecting a narrowing in the definition of a taxable person in

1676.¹⁰ The possibility exists that processes as yet unidentified conceal shifts in the proportion of property owners who left inventories; nevertheless, Figure II suggests that over the last half of the seventeenth century no significant change occurred in the probability that a wealth holder who died would leave an inventory.

This analysis can be extended to suggest that the estates of most men and women who died owning wealth were appraised. If the number of living wealthowners and their ages can be determined and mortality rates found for each age, the expected number of property owners who should die in a year can be calculated and compared to the number of inventories. Mortality rates are available in the Walsh-Menard life tables for the Chesapeake,¹¹ but the remaining parameters must be estimated. For purposes of argument, age distributions in nineteenth-century communities on the mid-Western frontier can simulate those of the Chesapeake colonies in the seventeenth century.¹² Application of Maryland mortality rates to those age structures produces results that cluster around thirty deaths per thousand wealthowners per year. Firm estimates of total wealthowners are not available, but the number of heads of households in the region can be estimated,¹³ the mortality rate applied, and the expected deaths of householders computed and compared to the number of householders who left inventories. Such a comparison appears in Figure III. It suggests that most householders who died left inventories. Since men and women who lived in the households of others regularly accounted for nearly 20 per cent of the inventoried population in our study, the proportion of all decedent property owners whose estates were appraised clearly was very high.¹⁴

Several historians have noticed a relationship between the age of decedents and the value of estates described by their inventories.¹⁵ In an effort to test for this effect, we

¹⁰ After 1676 taxables included white men and black men and women aged 16 and above; before that date servant boys and slaves aged 10 to 15 years were also taxed. Karinen, "Maryland Population," pp. 365-67.

¹¹ Walsh and Menard, "Death in the Chesapeake," in this issue.

¹² Both the Chesapeake colonies and the mid-western frontier contained a large proportion of recent immigrants. For age structures, see Merle Curti, *The Making of an American Community: A Case Study of Democracy in a Frontier County* (Stanford, Calif., 1959), p. 56; George Blackburn and Sherman L. Ricards, Jr., "A Demographic History of the West: Manistee County, Michigan," *Journal of American History*, LVII (1970), p. 607.

¹³ Households are estimated by dividing the number of taxables in the four counties by the ratio of taxables per household in Lancaster County, Virginia. In the early 18th century, when a direct comparison is possible, the ratio of taxables per household in Charles, Prince George's, and Lancaster was almost the same, providing support for the use of Lancaster data to estimate the number of households in the four counties during the 17th century. Robert A. Wheeler, *Lancaster County, Virginia, 1650-1750: The Evolution of a Southern Tidewater Community* (Ph.D. diss., Brown University, 1972), pp. 20, 37; *Maryland Archives*, XXV, p. 256; Charles County Court and Land Records, B no. 2, f. 57, ms., Hall of Records; Prince George's County Court Records, B, f. 340, ms., Hall of Records.

¹⁴ Whether or not a person was head of a household at death can be determined from the presence or absence of bedding furniture, and kitchen utensils in the inventory and from biographical study of the decedent.

We have applied the procedure described in this paragraph to the period 1638 to 1642, years for which exceptionally good data on population and age structure survive, concluding that the 21 inventories represent nearly all the property owners that would be expected to die.

¹⁵ See, for example, Jones, "Wealth Estimates for the American Middle Colonies," pp. 86-97.

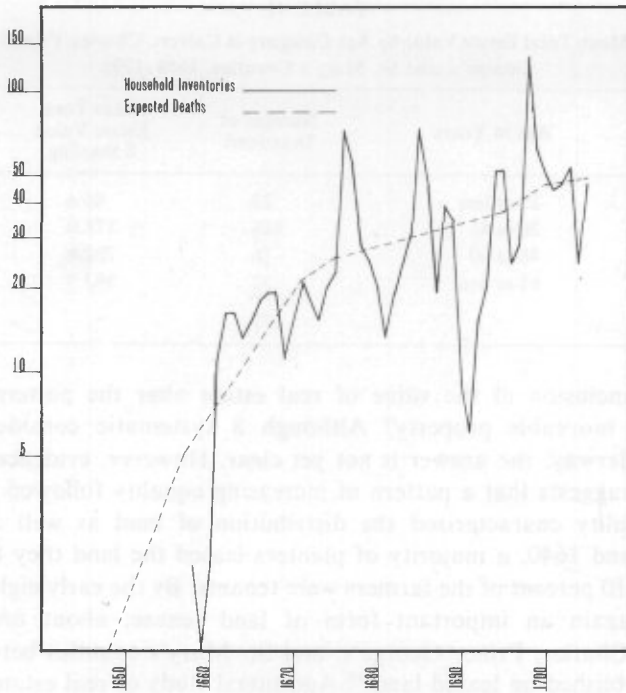


Figure III: Household Inventories and Expected Deaths of Heads of Households on the Lower Western Shore of Maryland, 1658–1705.

classified decedents by age on the basis of three different criteria: their specific age in years; their stage in the life cycle based on marital status and the number and age of their children; and since many were immigrants, the number of years they lived in the colony. All three methods of classification revealed a similar pattern; wealth increased until late middle age and then declined. Table II, which compares the mean total estate value of decedents in four age categories, describes the relationship.

The wealth patterns found in inventories may merely reflect changes in the average age of the decedent population unrelated to significant changes in the economy or the structure of society. In an effort to test this possibility we calculated a weighted mean in which each age classification contributed a constant proportion of decedents for each year. Since we discovered exact age at death in years for only 16 per cent of the decedents but could establish life cycle categories for 84 per cent, we used these to construct the adjusted means. To simplify both computation and comparison, we divided the period 1658 to 1705 into fifteen segments each three or four years in length. As Figure IV demonstrates, shifts in the age distribution of the decedent population had little impact on changes in mean total estate value over time.¹⁶

¹⁶ We used four life cycle categories: 1, decedents who never married; 2, decedents who had been married and whose children were all minors; 3, decedents who had been married and who had both adult and minor children; 4, decedents who had been married and whose children were all adults. The life cycle distribution

TABLE II
Mean Total Estate Value by Age Category in Calvert, Charles, Prince
George's, and St. Mary's Counties, 1658-1705

Age in Years	Number of Decedents	Mean Total Estate Value £ Sterling
25 or less	23	46.6
26 to 45	146	178.0
46 to 60	76	252.6
61 or over	32	193.3
	277	

Would the inclusion of the value of real estate alter the pattern described by inventories of moveable property? Although a systematic consideration of this question is underway, the answer is not yet clear. However, evidence on tenancy is available and suggests that a pattern of increasing equality followed by a period of growing inequality characterized the distribution of land as well as of personal property. Around 1640, a majority of planters leased the land they farmed, but by 1660 less than 10 percent of the farmers were tenants. By the early eighteenth century tenancy was again an important form of land tenure; about one-third of the households in Charles, Prince George's, and St. Mary's counties between 1704 and 1706 were established on leased land.¹⁷ Additional study of real estate may alter the movement of mean and median wealth, but it seems unlikely that it will reverse the direction of changes in the equality of wealth distribution.

This discussion of the representativeness of probate records lacks precision, but it does suggest that the unadjusted data from inventories describe patterns of wealth which reflect changes occurring in the entire property-owning population. We can now try to account for those patterns.

Wealth on Maryland's lower Western Shore became more equitably distributed in the middle two decades of the seventeenth century and less so during the 1660's and 1670's; from the early 1680's to 1705 the distribution revealed no long-term tendency to change. A full account of these shifting wealth patterns would require a lengthy, detailed history of the region, a task beyond both the present state of scholarship and the scope of this essay. However, we can suggest the shape such an account might take.¹⁸

for the entire period was taken as the norm. We calculated an adjusted mean total estate value for each of the 15 groups of years by multiplying the mean wealth for each life cycle category in the year group by the proportion of decedents in that life cycle category over the entire period and summing the results.

¹⁷ Lois Green Carr, *County Government in Maryland, 1689-1709* (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1968), p. 605; Russell R. Menard, *Economy and Society in Early Colonial Maryland* (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1974), chapters 2, 5, and 8.

¹⁸ Much of the discussion which follows is elaborated and more fully documented in Menard, *Economy and Society in Early Colonial Maryland*.

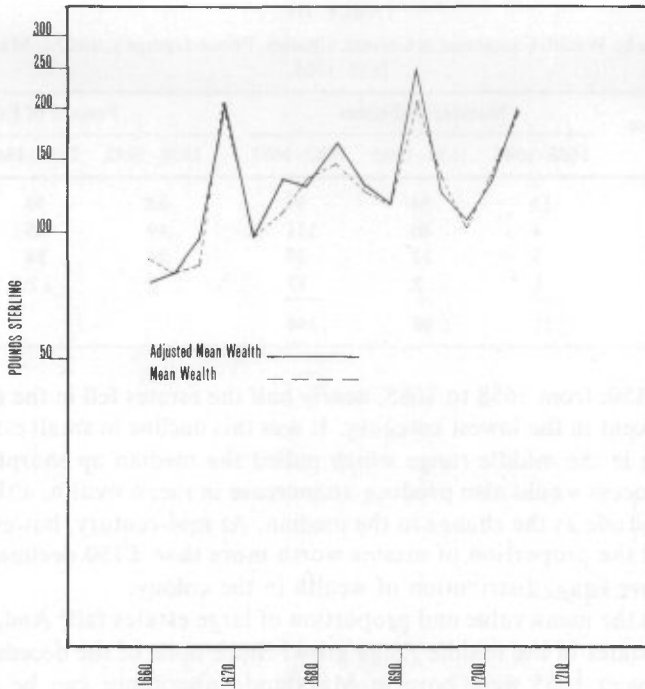


Figure IV: Age-adjusted Mean Total Estate Value on the Lower Western Shore of Maryland, 1658–1705.

It was not merely that the rich became first poorer and then wealthier, although that was part of the process. More important were changes in the proportion of decedents whose estates fell into lower, middle, and upper wealth categories. Any division of inventories into rigid categories based on total estate value is artificial, lumping together some dissimilar estates while separating others which show a similar use of assets, source of income, and style of life. Nevertheless, such a division can provide a useful starting point, particularly if care is taken to select categories that reflect actual differences in the deployment of wealth.

Table III divides estates into wealth categories at three points in time selected to minimize the possible impact of trade cycles upon wealth patterns.¹⁹ It offers useful insight into changes in the distribution of wealth. The increased equality from 1640 to 1660 reflects a decline in the proportion of property owners with small estates and an increase in those falling in the middle wealth ranges. Between 1638 and 1642, 62 percent of the decedents were worth less than £30 sterling, while only 20 percent were

¹⁹ The three periods end just before the bottom of major depressions in the tobacco trade in 1643, 1666, and 1688. See the sources cited above, in note 7. The pattern in Table III is not highly sensitive to the particular wealth categories used; several other cutting points would give a similar picture of change.

TABLE III

Number of Estates by Wealth Categories in Calvert, Charles, Prince George's, and St. Mary's Counties,
1658-1705

Total Estate Value £ Sterling	Number of Estates			Percent of Estates		
	1638-1642	1658-1665	1683-1687	1638-1642	1658-1665	1683-1687
0-29.99	13	34	89	62	39	36
30-149.99	4	40	111	19	45	45
150-399.99	3	12	27	14	14	11
400 and over	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>17</u>	5	2	7
	21	88	244			

worth £30 to £150; from 1658 to 1665, nearly half the estates fell in the middle range and only 39 percent in the lowest category. It was this decline in small estates and the growth of those in the middle range which pulled the median up sharply. Taken by itself, such a process would also produce an increase in mean wealth, although not of as great a magnitude as the change in the median. At mid-century, however, both the mean value and the proportion of estates worth more than £150 declined.²⁰ The net result was a more equal distribution of wealth in the colony.

Why did both the mean value and proportion of large estates fall? And, why did the proportion of estates in the middle range grow? Since none of the decedents who left inventories through 1665 were born in Maryland, inheritance can be ignored and attention focused on the wealth immigrants brought to the province and on the available opportunities for accumulation.

The wealth pattern revealed by inventories taken between 1638 and 1642 reflects the composition of the immigrant group that first settled Maryland. Lord Baltimore planned a structured, hierarchic community dominated by a New World gentry; he tailored the promotional effort to attract socially prominent Englishmen to the colony. Although the recruitment campaign was hardly an unqualified success, several members of wealthy Roman Catholic families of high social status sailed for Maryland with the first expedition. The shipboard society of the *Ark* and the *Dove* was rigidly stratified; with perhaps one exception all of the first adventurers who have been identified were either English gentlemen or indentured servants. The composition of the immigrant group did not change in the decade following the initial settlement. The majority of settlers who arrived in the years immediately after the *Ark* and the *Dove* were Protestant indentured servants; in most cases their passage had been paid by Catholic masters of means and status. Only a few men of middling wealth and social position migrated to Maryland in the 1630's and early 1640's.²¹

By the years 1638 to 1642, many of the indentured servants who had arrived on the *Ark* and the *Dove* had completed their terms, but—in part because of a severe

²⁰ The mean for the wealth group fell from £413 sterling to £316.

²¹ Harry Wright Newman, *The Flowering of the Maryland Palatinate* . . . (Washington, D.C., 1961), assembles informative biographies of the first settlers.

depression in the tobacco trade that began in 1637—few had yet accumulated much wealth or acquired farms of their own. Most remained in a dependent relationship to their former masters, working as wage laborers, sharecroppers, or tenant farmers on the estates of the few wealthy gentlemen who dominated early St. Mary's. The small, independent planter who worked his own farm with the help of his family and a servant or two had yet to emerge as an important figure. The surviving inventories, which reveal a nearly complete absence of estates in the middling wealth ranges and a substantial gap between the rich and the majority of property owners, reflect the structure of this first Maryland society.

What destroyed this structured, hierarchic society? First, it was politically fragile, fragmented by internal dissension. The local gentry, more interested in their own profit than in the colony's well-being, failed to provide the necessary leadership; in fact, the gentry's pursuit of private goals was a principle source of public instability. The society collapsed into anarchy when Richard Ingle marched on the capital in early 1645; it never fully recovered. Population declined sharply, from about 400 in the early 1640's to perhaps as few as 150 at the height of the "time of troubles," as both gentlemen and ordinary settlers left Maryland for more tranquil regions.²²

Second and perhaps more fundamental to the disappearance of the gentry-led hierarchy was rapid growth in the Chesapeake economy that began in the middle 1640's. This growth accompanied a sharp rise in the rate of immigration, a change in its character, and a major expansion of opportunity for poor men to acquire property. Both immigration and opportunity swelled the ranks of middling wealth holders.

Except in the mid-1650's, when the rate of immigration was relatively low, the immigrants who arrived from the late 1640's to the late 1660's differed from the initial settlers in several respects. Servants remained important, but they now constituted only about half the total, a substantial decline from the years before 1645. Gentlemen also continued to migrate to Maryland—particularly members of the Calvert family—but they were no longer a majority among free immigrants. The most important change was the arrival of settlers in family units. Family migration was rare before 1645. Between 1646 and 1652, nearly half of the immigrants arrived in family units, while from 1658 to 1667 over a third did so. On the whole, the families who came to the colony in the 1650's and 1660's were of middling status; their arrival rapidly expanded the class of small, independent, landowning planters in Maryland.²³

Former servants augmented the ranks of the small planter. An examination of the careers of servants who arrived in Maryland at mid-century provides striking evidence of the extent of opportunity. Of 137 servants who arrived in the province between 1648 and 1652, 72 appeared in the records as freemen. Five died soon after completing their

²² The best account of political difficulties in early St. Mary's and of Ingle's Rebellion is Nathaniel C. Hale, *Virginia Venturer: A Historical Biography of William Claiborne, 1600–1677* (Richmond, Va., 1951). On the population decline, see Menard, *Growth of Population in Early Colonial Maryland*, pp. 14–15.

²³ The discussion of the changing composition of the immigrant group is based on biographical study of a sample of immigrants selected from the headright entries in the Patent Liber series at the Hall of Records.

terms and eleven others quickly vanished, but 41 to 43 (about 75 percent) of the remaining 56 became landowners, while at least half the others married, established households, and participated in local government.²⁴ A recent study of 275 servants who had come to Maryland before Ingle's Rebellion indicates that they had even greater success in acquiring plantations of their own once the economy recovered from depression after 1645.²⁵

Maryland was a good poor man's country in the middle decades of the seventeenth century. Men of modest capital who immigrated with their families and former servants able to take advantage of the opportunities afforded by an expanding economy joined together to transform the structure of society on the lower Western Shore. The hierarchic social network of early St. Mary's gave way to a more open society. There were, of course, still indentured servants, free laborers, tenants, and sharecroppers in Maryland as well as men who were much wealthier than their neighbors. However, the small, owner-operated plantation had emerged as the dominant feature on the landscape; its proprietor, a yeoman farmer of modest means, had become the typical citizen. The probate inventories taken in Maryland in the late 1650's and early 1660's reflect the rise of the small planter.²⁶

The community of small planters proved hardly more durable than that of Lord Baltimore's New World gentlemen. From the 1660's to the 1680's the distribution of wealth on Maryland's lower Western Shore gradually became less equitable. Table III shows a substantial increase in the proportion of "rich" decedents, accompanied by relative stability in the other categories. The rise in the proportion of the "rich" raised the mean but had little impact on the median, an effect reinforced by a sharp increase in the average wealth of inventories appraised at more than £400.²⁷ More people were getting rich and the rich were getting richer, but the great majority of inhabitants failed to keep up the pace.

Again, an examination of the tobacco economy and its impact upon immigration and opportunity yields insight into the changing distribution of wealth. Records of American-grown tobacco imported into London provide a rough guide to the pattern of production in Maryland and Virginia. They show that the Chesapeake economy grew at a slower rate in the 1660's and 1670's than in the middle two decades of the century. From 1640 to 1663, London imports registered an average increase of 8 per cent per year; from 1663 to 1681 the annual growth rate was less than 4 per cent.²⁸ Perhaps in response, the number of families moving to Maryland declined sharply;

²⁴ The 137 include all men arriving in Maryland between 1648 and 1652 identified as indentured servants in the first 300 pages of Patent Liber AB&H.

²⁵ Russell R. Menard, "From Servant to Freeholder: Status Mobility and Property Accumulation in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., XXX (1973), pp. 37-64.

²⁶ For a similar assessment of the character of Virginia society in the middle decades of the century, see Thomas J. Wertenbaker, *The Planters of Colonial Virginia* (Princeton, 1922), especially chapters 3 and 4.

²⁷ The mean for this group increased from £800 sterling to £873 and their proportion of all estates from 2 to 7%.

²⁸ U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957* (Washington, D.C., 1960), series Z239.

after the mid-1660's the vast majority of immigrants to the province were servants, although slaves appeared with increasing frequency as the century progressed. Servants who completed their terms, furthermore, found it increasingly difficult to obtain credit, land, and plantations of their own. Those who succeeded in becoming small planters found that tight money, a growing scarcity of labor, and rising costs blocked their further progress. It is important to emphasize that the number of small planters continued to increase. However, their numbers were no longer advancing more rapidly than those of men at the top or the bottom. Around mid-century, the Chesapeake tobacco economy grew rapidly through an expansion of the number of middle-sized producers; after 1665, the economy grew at a slower rate and established planters captured an ever larger share of the market.

From the early 1680's to 1705, the mean and median total estate value and the distribution of wealth described by probate inventories reveal no secular tendency to change, despite the continuance of sharp, short-term fluctuations. At the same time, the Chesapeake tobacco economy stagnated; like wealth, both the amount of tobacco grown in Maryland and Virginia and the price planters received for their crop fluctuated in a distinct cyclical pattern without either rising or falling in the long-run.²⁹

Doubtless, wealth on the lower Western Shore and income from tobacco were related, but the precise nature of the connection is not as straightforward as might at first appear. If wealth in inventories were a mere reflection of the income planters earned growing tobacco, mean total estate value would have fallen after 1680 as an unchanging income was distributed among an increasing number of wealth holders. Why, then, did both mean and median wealth fail to decline? First, a heavy outmigration of poor men beginning in the 1690's relieved some of the pressure on resources and prevented a sharp increase in the proportion of decedents with very small estates.³⁰ In addition, Chesapeake planters, facing a sluggish market for the staple, apparently developed new sources of income that at least allowed them to maintain their estates through thirty years of stagnation in the tobacco economy. Close attention to the detail of probate inventories may reveal how they earned the added income.³¹

Despite the long-term stability of mean and median personal wealth described by inventories, the average total worth of property owners may have fallen. Given the probable rapid growth in tenancy after 1680, the inclusion of the value of real estate in

²⁹ *Ibid.*, series Z230-240; Jacob M. Price, "The Economic Growth of the Chesapeake and the European Market, 1697-1775," *Journal of Economic History*, XXIV (1964), pp. 496-511; Menard, "Farm Prices of Maryland Tobacco," p. 85.

³⁰ For emigration in the 1690's, see Governor Francis Nicholson to the Duke of Shrewsbury, June 14, 1695, *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1693-1696*, W. N. Sainsbury, et al., eds (44 vols. to date: London, 1860-), no. 1891; Thomas Lawrence to the Board of Trade, June 25, 1695, *ibid.*, no. 1916; Francis Nicholson to the Board of Trade, Mar. 27, 1697, *Maryland Archives*, XXIII, pp. 87-88.

³¹ For a discussion of the possible sources of the additional income, see Hemphill, *Virginia and the English Commercial System*, pp. 10-13.

the calculations could produce such a decline. More important, per capita wealth certainly fell during the last decades of the seventeenth century. The proportion of people who had no wealth increased after 1680 with the growth of slavery and the beginnings of natural population growth among free colonists. On the average, each estate supported a growing number of men, women, and children, and wealth per person fell. A stagnant economy brought hard times to the tobacco coast.

By itself, a statistical description of the distribution of wealth is a lifeless artifact. To historians, it offers the same interpretive difficulties and the same rich promise that pot sherds and pipe stems present to archaeologists. To overcome the difficulties and realize the promise, both must examine their artifacts in a broad context. What can a study of wealth and its distribution reveal of the quality of life in a past society, of the way people related to each other and to their material environment? Fortunately, the rich detail of inventories offers an opportunity to gain the insight into the past that answers to such questions demand, particularly when they are interpreted within the context of full biographical studies of decedents. As the inquiry continues it will explore the connections between career profiles, the use of assets, and the gross indicators of total worth employed in this essay. We will then gain a deepened understanding of the ways in which the interaction of individual choice and market forces affected the life chances of men and women and shaped the changing structure of Maryland society.

The "Virginia House" in Maryland

CARY CARSON

VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE IS a term invented by archaeologists to describe buildings that are built according to local custom to meet the personal requirements of the individuals for whom they are intended. Its opposite may be called polite architecture and can be taken to include everything from self-conscious buildings designed by architects or copied from pattern books to unassuming farmhouses, which, nevertheless, are laid out or ornamented to conform to the dictates of an imported taste. Barns are the most familiar specimens of vernacular architecture on the Maryland landscape today. In contrast, the farmhouses they belong to often are not, their plans, use of rooms, facades, and trim mimicking, however faintly, fashions and manners that originated well outside local tradition.

There was a time when most domestic buildings in Maryland were vernacular to a large degree. Except for the houses of a few wealthy merchants and colonial officials, dwellings and their outbuildings took such form as best served their owners' occupations and household habits. Where such buildings have been lucky enough to survive, they preserve a faithful record of the functions they performed. Like fossils to the palaeontologist, they are a valuable source of information to students of social and economic history. Four years ago the St. Mary's City Commission, assisted by the Maryland Historical Trust, began recording domestic architecture in Tidewater Maryland by way of collecting evidence for a larger study of living conditions in the tobacco South. Because we particularly wanted to find out how different kinds of people lived in different kinds of houses, we had to exercise extreme care in assigning dates to the buildings we surveyed. To misdate them or date them more precisely than either the physical or documentary evidence allowed would have lessened our chances of correctly identifying from written records the persons who had lived in them. And without certain knowledge of the builder or at least the first few occupants, we could not fix a building's social or economic status exactly and so would be unable to use it as primary evidence in our study of living standards. From the start, then, we had to learn to recognize those architectural features that had been most susceptible to changing fashion and technical innovation. They alone could be relied on to give us a fairly accurate *date range* into which we could fit the building of houses and such additions and alterations as they may have received afterwards.

For that specialized purpose the two houses described below are among the most

instructive we know. They are not only older than most, but, more to the point, they are provably so. Both may have been built within one generation of the founding of Maryland; they certainly were within two. Yet, old as they are, they already show a marked dissimilarity to vernacular buildings in England or even to the very early farmhouses whose foundations archaeologists have excavated in Virginia and Maryland, houses like St. John's at St. Mary's City, whose Lowland English plan is discussed elsewhere in this issue. New building materials, an unfamiliar climate, and an economy based almost exclusively on tobacco began working changes in imported vernacular traditions as soon as immigrants discovered that old conventions were often poorly suited to their new way of life.¹ Immediately, it seems, they started experimenting with new forms of housing and with farm buildings more appropriate to tobacco culture.

A considerable amount of adjusting took place wherever colonists from different backgrounds were thrown together in frontier communities. At first, everyone dealt with his new surroundings in ways he had been accustomed to at home. But sooner or later some fewer customs usually predominated, because they were better suited or more adaptable than the rest. In housing, the variety of competing building traditions imported by settlers from all over England gave way in every colony to standardized types of dwellings, which answered local needs more exactly. What is so surprising about the home-grown vernacular building traditions in Maryland and Virginia is the speed and thoroughness with which they departed from all English precedent. By the third quarter of the seventeenth century carpenters were building a type of house so different from English farmhouses and so universally acceptable to tobacco planters on both sides of the Potomac that it was known by a shorthand phrase as the "Virginia style" or the "Virginia house."²

What was it, and where did it come from? Unfortunately, these are difficult questions to answer, for remarkably few seventeenth-century buildings survive anywhere in the Tidewater South. Whereas New England is reckoned to have over 200 dwellings built before 1700, fewer than twenty standing structures of the same period have been identified and documented in all of Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas. When the burden of interpreting the architectural record rests on so few buildings, each must be made to yield as much information as it contains. None has given up more than the two houses described below.

Holly Hill: Friendship, Anne Arundel County (AA 817)³

Holly Hill is a benchmark in the architectural history of Maryland owing to an unusual painted map entitled "Samuel Harrison's Land," which still belongs to the

¹ Readers will have to accept these statements without proof for the time being. To demonstrate their accuracy will take more space than I have here.

² Charles County Court and Land Records, R no. 1, f. 444, ms. All mss. cited are at the Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland.

³ Code numbers are those assigned by the Maryland Historical Trust and refer to locations on its regional maps.

house. A vignette in one corner depicts the large, T-shaped, brick dwelling looking much as it does today. The map must have been painted before Harrison's death in 1733, and thus it provides a useful *terminus post quem* not only for the brick house, but, more importantly, by calculating backwards, for two older timber-framed houses that are encased inside the brick walls.

Almost all trace of these earlier structures was obliterated between the ground sills and the eaves by Harrison's early eighteenth-century renovations. Yet, the roof frame and some of the original cellar footings survive to show that the earliest structure was a two bay cottage enclosing a single ground floor room (or possibly two small rooms) heated by a chimney on the west gable (Fig. 1). Its one story, box-frame was raised on six heavy posts, three on a side, connected along the top by wall plates and spanned from front to back by tie beams. These beams are still notched over the plates and held in place by hidden dovetail joints. Both ends of every beam extend a further seven or eight inches beyond the plates to receive the tenoned feet of principal rafters. There are three principal rafter trusses, one on each gable joined to a central truss by a single butted purlin and strengthened by windbraces (Fig. 2). Common rafters pass over and are pegged into the purlins. Like the main trusses, they too stand on the ends of tie beams cantilevered over the wall plates. Where pairs of common rafters meet at the ridge, they are half-lapped and nailed; the principals are morticed, tenoned, and

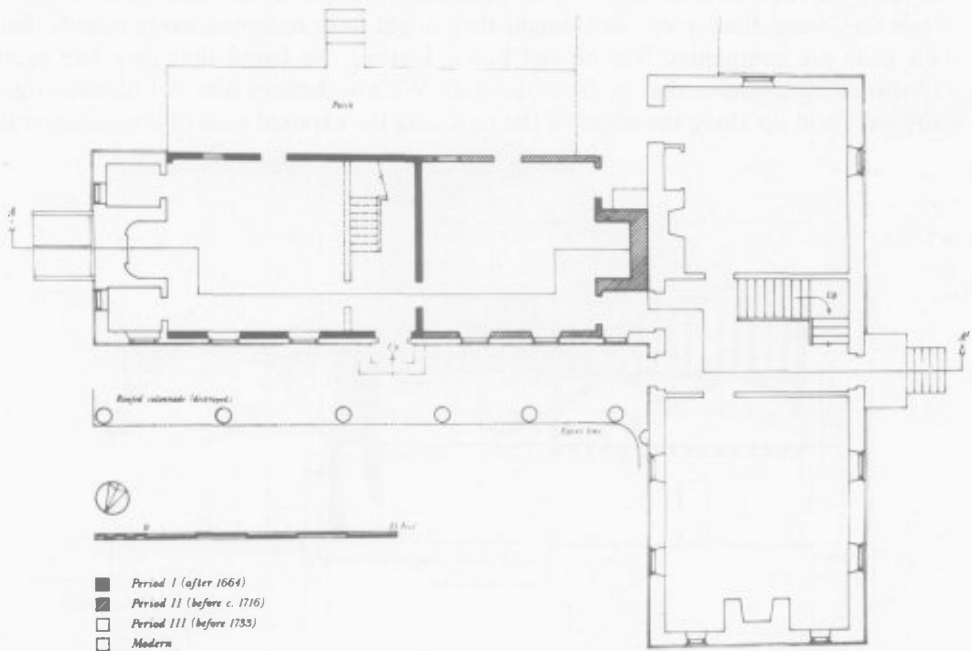


Figure 1: Holly Hill, ground plan.

pegged. All trusses are braced by collar beams nailed flush into open sided mortices. As usual in Maryland, there is no ridge piece.

The ceilings of even the earliest one-story houses in Maryland are usually as lofty as the exterior walls. Tie beams not only support the roof frame, but carry the floor boards of the attic as well. As the beams are closely spaced at Holly Hill to provide a separate seating for every pair of rafters, there was no need for floor joists between them. Seen from below, they once gave the downstairs rooms a heavily timbered appearance despite their height, for they were all exposed before later generations concealed them above lower lath and plaster ceilings. They are well dressed and finished, but in the Maryland manner are not embellished with moldings or chamfers.

Once the frame was up, the walls and almost certainly the roof too were sheathed in riven oak clapboards, about four feet long, nailed in series up the studs and across the roof. Portions of this cladding survive on both gables to show how the housewright overlapped the ends and edges of the clapboards to give the house a tight, waterproof skin against the weather. Only two places were vulnerable to strong winds and driving rain: the corners, where the clapboards could not be overlapped, and the seam created by the eaves along the gables. Corner boards commonly protected the former, but the roof clapboards that projected over the gables to form the eaves were much harder to keep fastened down. The carpenters at Holly Hill tried one way that we have not met with elsewhere. They tenoned three stout spurs into the side of each gable rafter, one near the foot, another half way up, and the third above the collar joint (Fig. 3). When they were discovered, we thought they might have mounted barge boards, but their ends are completely free of nail holes. Instead, we found that they had been nailed into from above, that is, from the roof. We now believe that flat planks originally were laid up along the edges of the roof over the exposed ends of the clapboards

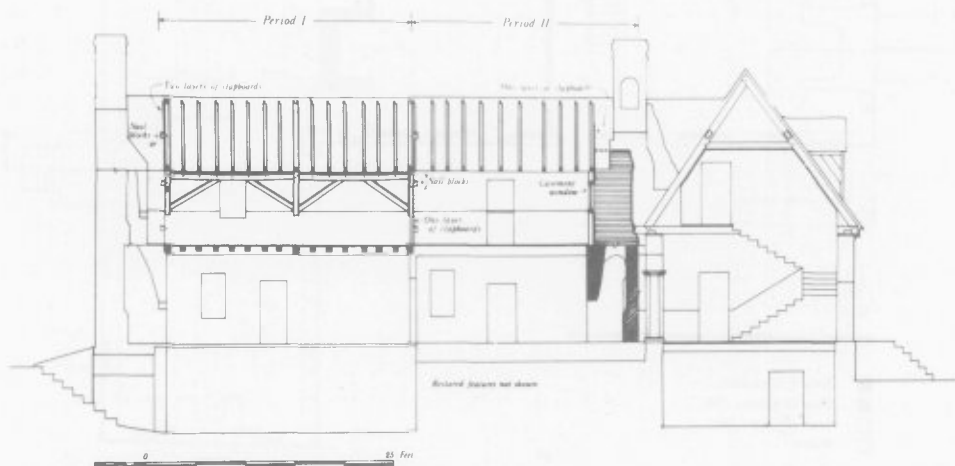


Figure 2: Holly Hill, axial section (AA') facing south. The drawing shows all visible fragments of the earliest house and its first enlargement.

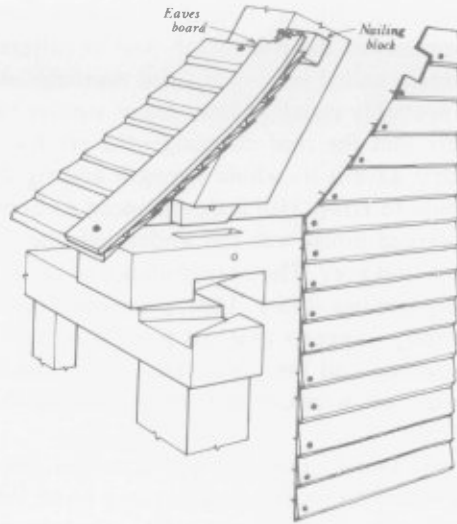


Figure 3: Holly Hill, exploded view of Period I construction at SE corner. The roof clapboards and the eaves board are restored in the drawing to show the original function of the nailing blocks. Not seen are the sprockets that carried the splayed lower edge of the roof over the ends of the extended tie beams.

and that spikes were driven through the planks, the cladding, and into these special nailing blocks fixed under the eaves.

Holly Hill remained a cottage long enough for its clapboards to want renewing. Its original weathered siding can still be seen on the east gable under new cladding, which was nailed on top of it when carpenters were sheathing an addition they had just built against the west gable. This enlargement nearly doubled the size of the house by adding another room on the ground floor and a chamber over it. A new brick chimney was raised against the west end of the addition where much of it still stands, captured inside Samuel Harrison's early eighteenth-century wing. A cavernous fireplace heats the room downstairs. The same chimney may have serviced a small hearth in the chamber as well, for the stack engaged the gable to a height slightly above the level of the collar beam. Even without the evidence of a fireplace, the chamber was almost certainly a lived-in room, for it was lit by a good sized two-light casement window set in the gable alongside the chimney. The oak frame and central mullion were discovered when the house was restored a generation ago. A square, wooden rod, let into holes in the top and bottom of each light, stiffened the casements of leaded glass.

During the years between construction of the first cottage and its enlargement, local carpenters learned to build a new kind of roof frame. The roof over the early dwelling rests its weight on principal rafter trusses. That over the addition employs an altogether different system, one that owed nothing to English tradition and everything to the new technology of riven clapboards.⁴ All its rafters are common rafters. Every

⁴ Common rafter roofs are not unknown in England, but it will take a separate article to show that those in Maryland and Virginia are quite dissimilar and represent an independent development.

truss is independent of its neighbors. Lengthwise neither purlins nor windbraces connect the separate elements of the roof. Each pair of rafters is joined at the ridge and braced by collars, again nailed into open sided mortices. Although the eaves can not be seen, the rafters probably stand on false plates similar to those at Sarum (Fig. 4). It was not the rafters, but the roof covering—the riven clapboards (which have since been removed)—that gave it its whole strength and rigidity.

This convenient addition to Holly Hill little enhanced its appearance, however, for, like the cottage, the enlarged house was left unpainted, the clapboard-covered roof and walls weathering to a dull grey. The only evidence of color are traces of dark red paint on the one surviving window frame. That, plus similar evidence at another early house in the county, Brandy, suggests that red paint was occasionally applied to the frames of doors and windows and the projecting ends of tie beams to liven up the dreary clapboarded houses that were common everywhere in the South by the turn of the century.

This was the house presumably that Samuel Harrison inherited about 1716 and soon afterwards altered out of all recognition. He tore down the cottage chimney and erected another chimney inside the opposite gable, which he extended in brick. The northern side of the old house was refaced, refenestrated, and shaded by a colonnade with a pedimented roof over the entrance. Again the house was enlarged, this time by building a brick wing across the west end of the old addition. It contains two handsome rooms downstairs and corresponding chambers above. The rooms on both floors are reached from a wide central stairhall. The whole scale and style of these modernizations display what was then passing for high fashion among Harrison's merchant friends in Annapolis. Holly Hill had become a most decidedly *unvernacular* building, except in places where it did not matter, such as the roof frame over the new wing. That, curiously, is supported by a stout framework of principal and common

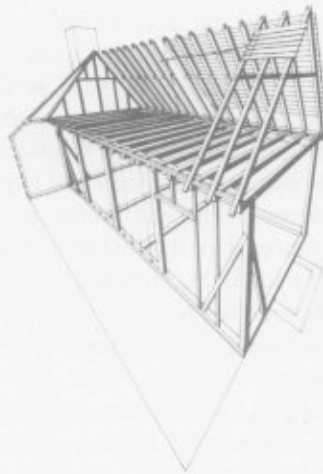


Figure 4: Sarum, perspective view of seventeenth-century timber frame from SE corner.

rafters linked by staggered butt purlins and locked together with windbraces. There was no necessity for such construction, no suggestion on the painting, for instance, that the roof was covered with heavy pantiles. Nor is there any possibility that the wing actually incorporated another earlier building. Unfinished tie beams and nail-free rafters concealed under the roof where the wing joins the house prove definitely that it was newly built at this time. The real explanation is simpler: common rafter roofs had not yet entirely supplanted the older type involving principals and purlins, as we know from a few mid-eighteenth-century houses in which they also have been found.

Dating and ownership. Working backwards from the map painted before Samuel Harrison's death in 1733, it is safe to suppose that he began renovating the frame house shortly after he inherited the property from his father. The bolection moldings throughout the house, the marbled paneling, and the double ogee pattern in the brick door and window heads can all be approximately dated to the 1720s. It follows that the timber framed cottage *might* have been built as early as 1664, when Francis Holland patented "Holland's Hills," and that the first addition to it can not have come later than circa 1716, when Richard Harrison, Samuel's father, died.⁵ It is also incontestable that considerable time elapsed before the deeply weathered first house needed re-siding—fifteen to twenty years is a reasonable minimum. Certainly, then, architectural historians can not go wrong by dating Holly Hill's first phase to the last third of the seventeenth-century. If earlier rather than later, it was the property of Francis Holland or his son; if after the middle 1680s, Richard Harrison was the builder. Either way, he undoubtedly made the first addition.

Sarum, Newport, Charles County (CC 15)

Sarum is another house whose neat modern aspect belies its real antiquity. Beneath its eighteenth-century skin there lies the nearly intact timber-framed skeleton of a one story dwelling, which in all likelihood was built sometime between 1662 and 1680. It is important furthermore for being the earliest fully developed "Virginia style" house that has come to light in either Maryland or Virginia.

Larger than the cottage at Holly Hill, it is built on a frame of ten major uprights tenoned into ground sills, which rest on low brick footings (Fig. 4). Wall plates, front and rear, are morticed into the tops of all but the corner posts. To these they are ingeniously joined from behind by a kind of flaring lap joint, which appears to be neither pegged nor nailed, but merely clamped together by a notch in the oversailing tie beams. Long, straight anglebraces, half lapped and nailed into open sided mortices in the corner posts, steady the wall frame against the sills.

The roof rises on seventeen independent common rafter trusses, each half-lapped

⁵ The documents essential for identifying the earliest owners of the property are: Patent Liber 7, ff. 164-66; Anne Arundel Co. Land Records, WH no. 4, ff. 82-8; Patent P.L. no. 3, ff. 420-23; Wills 14, ff. 142-46; Wills 20, ff. 808-11, all mss. Complete title histories for both houses described in this article accompany the drawings and photographs that the St. Mary's City Commission has deposited in the Historic American Building Survey collection at the Library of Congress.

where they come together at the ridge and coupled farther down by a collar beam, lapped, morticed, and nailed. The feet of each truss stand not on the ends of separate tie beams, as they do in the oldest part of Holly Hill, but on two longitudinal timbers, which seventeenth-century carpenters called "false plates." These parallel the main wall plates, but are carried eight to ten inches outside them on the upper ends of the projecting tie beams to which they are pegged. In section about four inches square, they do not lie flat on the tie beams, but instead are tilted 45° to receive the lower ends of the sloping rafters, which partly butt against them and partly pass over to carry the eaves down below the exposed ends of the tie beams.

Riven clapboards still cover the roof under later shingles. They were put there not merely as cladding, but as an essential part of the roof structure, as essential as the sheets of plywood that anchor roofs built of two-by-four trusses today. Indeed, still visible in the space above the attic chambers are the long oak laths that the housewrights nailed inside the rafters to keep them standing upright and properly spaced while outside they attached the clapboard casing that would give the roof its final rigidity. Here was form following function in a way as unfamiliar to Old World carpentry as the material that made it possible.

Clapboards also covered Sarum's exterior walls. Many are still fixed to the studs and posts along the south side where later leantos preserved them in good condition. Nail holes in the sides of the gable rafters show that the ends of the house were similarly sheathed, as undoubtedly the north facade was too.

Clapboards on the roof, visible from inside the attic, even tell us something we would not otherwise know about the houseplan. Because they served a structural function, they were not removed when worn out, but just shingled over. And because they remained in place, they still frame a triangular opening where the pitch roof of a storied porch or a stair tower joined at right angles the north slope of the roof over the house (Fig. 5). At ground level this porch was about ten feet wide and probably projected forward approximately the same distance from the center of the building. The clapboards also show that dormer windows, one on each side of the tower, lighted upstairs chambers. Probably there were two main rooms on this floor, plus another smaller one in the tower if, as seems likely, it contained an entrance porch rather than a stairwell. The arrangement of rooms is least clearly documented on the ground floor where subsequent remodelling has concealed early features. There were certainly no more than two principal rooms downstairs, the only question being whether a single partition or a central cross-passage separated them. The evidence, such as there is, favors the former. Only one tie beam appears to have been left in the rough-hewn condition that sometimes indicates their function as head beams for partitions. The two sleeper joists lying under the floor near the center of the building (shown in Fig. 5) need not have been sills for a pair of partitions; they may be remnants of longer sills that ran north under the porch tower.

As thus built, Sarum conformed in almost every detail to what seventeenth-century carpenters seem to have meant by a "Virginia house": a one story, frame dwelling with two rooms on the ground floor, the whole being covered with unpainted riven



Figure 5: Sarum, axial section facing north. The oldest part of the house is covered by the clapboarded roof, in which are still visible traces of two original dormers and the roof to a porch tower.

clapboards. It needs only exterior gable end chimneys to complete the picture, and, in fact, there definitely was one such stack built against the east gable, with a fireplace opening into the downstairs room and maybe another into the chamber above. Presumably it had a twin on the opposite gable, which was obliterated when the house was later enlarged westwards. What little we know about the interior conforms to a type no less than its exterior appearance and its manner of construction. Exposed, but unchamfered, tie beams framed high ceilings downstairs. The wall posts were also visible in both rooms. Whitewash covered the ceiling and the lath and plaster walls in the west room. In the other the exposed timberwork was painted, the tie beams a dark rust red and the posts a pale blue-green.

Sarum remained in this state for many years, long enough for the clapboards on the roof to weather deeply, for a set of round-ended shingles to replace them, and for those to wear out too—all before a timber-framed leanto was built along the back, encasing the earlier generations of roof coverings under its long, sloping rafters. The leanto enlarged the house by at least two more lower and narrower rooms. Each had its own doorway into the adjoining front room, an arrangement that strengthens the suggestion that the main rooms were separated by a single partition and did not yet open off a central cross-passage. Outside, the walls of the leanto were clapboarded to match the rest of the house, as they may still be seen to do on a section of the west gable preserved in the attic. Sarum was still a thoroughly vernacular house.

It did not remain so for long. Sometime before the middle of the eighteenth century it, too, got a face-lifting. The external chimneys were razed and the house extended in both directions, to the east just enough to incorporate a new chimney inside a flush

brick gable, but to the west nearly fifteen feet. That enlargement made space for three generous rooms downstairs, including a new parlor and a central hallway to contain a three-sided staircase. The relocated west gable was entirely rebuilt in brick: Flemish bond with glazed headers to the level of the eaves and English bond above. At the back, the leanto was retained and extended the full length of the enlargements. Its end walls joined the new brick gables, which contained small fireplaces and flues for rooms that probably had never been heated before. The north front also lost its homely vernacular face. The porch tower came down; the old dormers disappeared; the door and window openings were deployed more decorously; the exposed ends of the rafters and tie beams were boxed in and properly trimmed with moldings; and the ugly, grey clapboards were replaced by long, sawn weatherboards, smartly beaded along their lower edges. The transformation was complete, and, except for remodeling the east room in the early nineteenth century and installing an Empire-style mantel in the west room, Sarum's eighteenth-century disguise has survived to the present day.

Dating and ownership. Oddly enough, a surveyor's error of 300 years ago makes it possible today to propose a remarkably narrow date range for the building of Sarum. A "gentleman" named John Pile took up lands along the east side of the Wicomico River in what was then St. Mary's County between 1658 and 1662. Shortly after his death in 1676, one of his patents was found to be defective. As Lord Baltimore's lawyers put it, "the plantation and dwelling house erected and made by the said John in his lifetime was . . . wholly without the bounds of the said tract called Sarum and within our manor of Calverton."⁶ Pile's son, Joseph, petitioned the Proprietor to correct the oversight and in return received a grant of 110 acres including the lot on which the house stood. The fact that ownership of that piece of property can be traced uninterruptedly from Joseph Pile to the present owners does not, of course, prove by itself that this house was the one "erected and made" by John Pile "in his lifetime." But it is most decidedly possible. Its plan, materials, and manner of construction are entirely consistent with a building date somewhere between the 1662 and 1676 suggested by the documents. It could indeed be "gentleman" John Pile's house. On the other hand, none of the physical or documentary evidence precludes a date shortly after 1676 either. Conceivably, Joseph Pile could have rebuilt his father's house following some unrecorded catastrophe. That Joseph lived there is hard to doubt, for the weathered clapboards plainly show that it had been standing many years before it received a shingle roof sometime very early in the eighteenth century (to judge from the round-ended shingles). These, too, had time to weather, which must put construction of the timber-framed and clapboarded leanto into the 'teens or 'twenties at the earliest and the brick rebuilding of the gables still later, although not necessarily much later. Long fielded panels in the west parlor have wide feathered edges typical of the 1720s or '30s, but it is reported that this paneling was introduced from elsewhere

⁶ The relevant manuscripts are: Patent Liber Q, ff. 447-48, 21; 5, ff. 153-54; CB no. 2, ff. 133-35; CB no. 3, f. 248; 21, f. 385; Wills 6, ff. 64-65. See note 5 above.

fairly recently, and so it can not help in dating the enlargement. For the time being, it is enough to suppose that the major changes took place during the second quarter of eighteenth century when the house was owned by Bennett and his brother Joseph Pile (d. 1758).⁷

A description of Sarum is as good a definition of the typical "Virginia house" as our knowledge presently allows. Those features that mark it and comparable buildings as belonging to the second half of the seventeenth century are three particularly: the tilted false plates, the unmolded tie beams exposed outside along the eaves and indoors across the ceilings, and the narrow riven clapboards used for exterior cladding. By the 1720s or thereabouts we find that these features were generally supplanted in the better sort of houses by thin, flat false plates, beaded or concealed beams, boxed cornices, and sawn weatherboard siding. But these are signposts only, not milestones. Used incautiously, they can mislead rather than help. Holly Hill reminds us that there were seventeenth-century houses in which some of these features were absent, as well as eighteenth- and even nineteenth-century buildings in which they persisted. Sorting out which is which is essential if we are to make our few earliest vernacular buildings tell us everything they can about household life on the Chesapeake frontier.

Glossary

ANGLEBRACE. A brace between a post and a sill or a post and a plate.

BARGEBOARDS. Projecting planks mounted against the incline of a gable.

BAY. A unit of building, its length determined by the distance between two trusses, wall posts, or window openings.

CHAMFER. The surface made by cutting off the edge of a beam or post.

COLLAR. A horizontal timber linking two rafters about half-way along their lengths.

COMMON RAFTER. A light timber running from walls to ridge onto which the cladding of the roof is fixed.

FALSE PLATE. A longitudinal timber, carried on the upper ends of extended tie beams, for supporting the feet of common rafters.

HEAD BEAM. Any horizontal timber to which the top of a partition is attached.

JOISTS. Horizontal timbers, usually shorter and lighter than beams, supporting floors.

MULLION. A vertical bar dividing a window opening.

PANTILE. A clay roofing tile, S-shaped in section.

PLATE. The horizontal timber on top of a side wall.

PRINCIPAL RAFTER. A heavy timber running from walls to ridge, usually joined to its neighbors by purlins.

⁷ Wills 18, f. 312; Accounts 7, ff. 194-95; Inventories 4, ff. 156-60; Charles Co. Accounts, 1759-1770, ff. 21-23; Chancery Records 26, pp. 292, 299, all mss.

PURLIN. A timber (or several timbers) running the length of a roof, intermediate between wall plate and ridge, supporting the common rafters.

RIVEN CLAPBOARD. A piece of cladding, usually about four feet long, split from an oak or chesnut log.

SILL. A horizontal timber underneath a side wall.

STUD. A vertical timber in a wall or partition, usually lighter than a wall post.

TIE BEAM. A horizontal timber spanning the width of a building at the tops of the walls.

TRUSS. A triangular arrangement of timbers in a roof, either of common rafters with a collar or of principal rafters standing on tie beams.

WALL POST. One of the main uprights in a side wall, carrying the wall plate and a tie beam.

WINDBRACES. A brace in the roof between a principal rafter and a purlin.

A Tenant Farmer's Tableware: Nineteenth-Century Ceramics from Tabb's Purchase

GEORGE L. MILLER

ARCHAEOLOGISTS' PLANS AND expectations are often changed by what is discovered in the process of excavation. During the summer of 1972 an archaeological crew under the direction of Garry Wheeler Stone excavated a house site on part of the St. Mary's College campus known in the seventeenth century as Pope's Freehold. Nathaniel Pope patented the land in 1640; Thomas Hatton and Philip Calvert, leading figures of provincial Maryland, successively owned and lived on it.¹ The excavators hoped to locate remains of a seventeenth-century structure. They found instead a mid-eighteenth-century foundation filled mostly with nineteenth-century refuse.

The House

The structure located was a house that a proprietary tenant, Roger Towle, began sometime after 1746.² In 1765 Moses Tabbs, the Anglican rector of William and Mary Parish, purchased the house and lands and lived there until he died in 1779.³ The Tabbs family owned the property until about 1821, when they sold it to Daniel Campbell, a wealthy planter who lived at Rosecroft, nearby.⁴

Shortly after Moses Tabbs's death, his heirs leased Tabbs Purchase, as the property by then was called. The only identified tenant is William Kerby, Sr. He was occupying the property in 1798 and presumably still lived there at his death in 1803.⁵ Shortly afterwards the Kerby family apparently moved out of the Tabbs house, for a James Kerby, probably the son of William, is listed on a tax assessment of 1806 as a landless resident in a neighboring area.⁶ None of William Kerby's other children, in so far as they are named in his will, are listed as heads of households in county assessments or the remaining U.S. censuses for the county.

¹ Patent Liber AB & H, ff. 73-74; 1, ff. 53-55, mss., Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland. Unless otherwise indicated, all mss. and microfilm cited are at the Hall of Records.

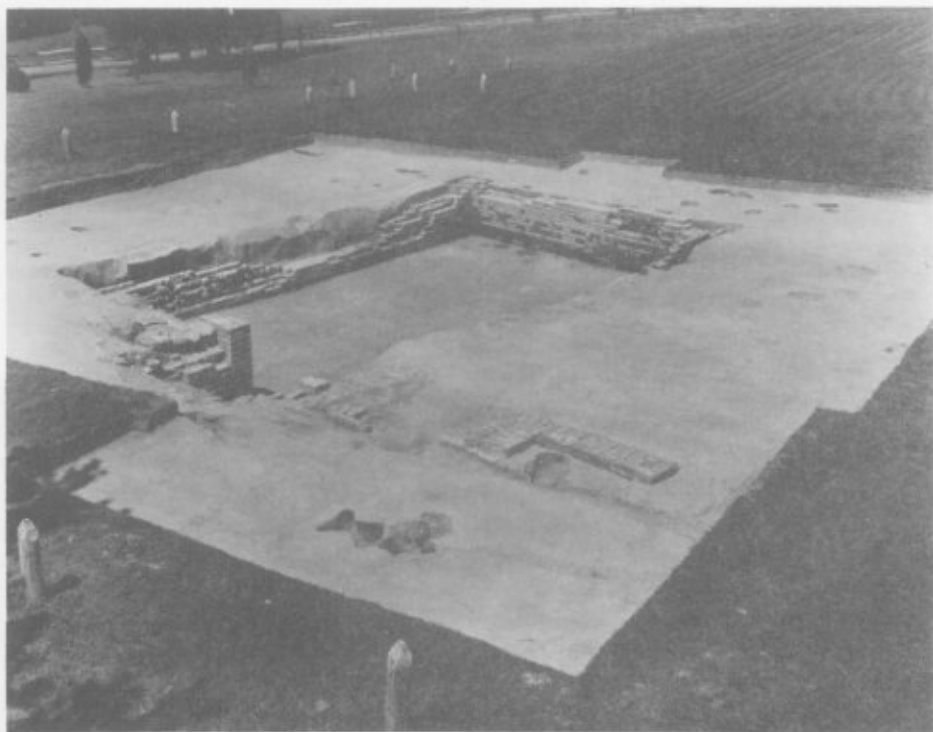
² Glaus Marcus Brumbaugh, *Maryland Records, Colonial, Revolutionary, County and Church from Original Sources* (2 vols.; Baltimore, 1967), II, p. 73.

³ Patent Liber BC & GS 38, f. 235; St. Mary's County Wills, J.J. no. 1, f. 94, ms. (will of Moses Tabbs).

⁴ St. Mary's County Wills, E.M.I. no. 1, f. 145, ms. (will of Daniel Campbell).

⁵ Federal Assessment List, St. Mary's County, 1798, microfilm.

⁶ St. Mary's County Wills, J.J. no. 3, f. 24, ms. (will of William Kerby).



The excavated house. In the foreground is the east chimney of Roger Tolle's dwelling, beyond which is the cellar added by Moses Tabbs.

Who moved into the Tabbs house after the Kerby family moved out is unknown. A map of the Patuxent and St. Mary's Rivers made in 1824 by the U.S. Bureau of Topographical Engineers shows a family named Dennis living in the Tabbs house. The first name of the occupant is not listed on the map, and the only Dennis listed in censuses of the First District of St. Mary's County from 1790 to 1850 is Ann Dennis, who appears in the 1810 census, but not thereafter.⁷ Further research failed to turn up other residents of the Tabbs house.

Several descriptions of the house help interpret the excavations. The Snow Hill Manor Memorandum Book for 1765 describes the house as a good dwelling with brick chimneys and measuring 28 by 16 feet.⁸ Most likely it contained two rooms. In 1780 the orphans' court appraised the Tabbs estate and described a house with brick chimneys and four rooms on a floor.⁹ Obviously Moses Tabbs had made a major

⁷ United States Bureau of Topographical Engineers, "Map of the Patuxent and St. Mary's Rivers, Maryland, From Surveys by Major J. J. Abert Topographical Engineer and Major J. Kearney Topographical Engineer in 1824" (1857), photocopy, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland. No census for 1830 survives for St. Mary's County.

⁸ Snow Hill Memorandum Book, circa 1765, ms. in box of Proprietary Leases.

⁹ St. Mary's County Valuations and Indentures, 1780-1808, f. 1, ms.

addition. The 1798 federal tax assessment lists the house as 30 by 32 feet, which approximates the excavated dimensions of 28 by 32 feet. Since measurements given in the 1765 Snow Hill Manor book fit the part of the house without a cellar, it is clear that the cellar belonged with the newer addition.

Excavation of the site was restricted to the main house and, roughly 60 feet downhill from the house, a small trench, which was filled mainly with brick rubble and a small amount of household trash. The small quantity of eighteenth-century artifacts recovered from the limited areas excavated suggest that Moses Tabbs had a garbage disposal pattern different from that of the later occupants of the house. The following ceramic vessels could date from Moses Tabbs's occupation of the house:

- 3 combed slipware plates (ST 2-208 T/AA, ST 2-251 /AS, ST 2-224 /Bb)
- 1 combed slipware mug or pitcher (ST 2-251 C/AA)
- 1 scratch blue salt-glazed mug or pitcher (ST 2-252 /KI)
- 2 white salt-glazed plates, barley corn pattern (ST 2-208 F/MP, ST 2-224 /AF)
- 1 delft mug, sponge magnesium decoration (ST 2-252 J/AC)
- 1 delft plate, blue-on-white (ST 2-201 /BM)
- 2 German salt-glazed mugs (ST 2-220 B/AA, ST 2-204 H/AK)

In addition to these vessels, which are predominantly eighteenth century, there are plain creamware, lead-glazed redware, and salt-glazed stoneware vessels which could be eighteenth or nineteenth century.

Excavation indicates that the cellar had been thoroughly cleaned early in the nineteenth century, possibly after the death of William Kerby in 1803. The earliest occupation level was probably shoveled out, since only small pockets of primary



Graduate student recovering ceramics from the ramp fill.

occupation were found. Sherds to a plain creamware salt (ST 2-219 C/AF) were recovered from one of the undisturbed areas of the cellar. This salt dish is exactly like one illustrated in the Leeds Pottery Catalogue for 1794.¹⁰ The section in which the illustration of the salt appears is an addition to the catalogue of 1783, indicating that this form developed between 1783 and 1794.¹¹ Donald Towner's reprint of the 1794 Leeds Catalogue is taken from a copy printed on paper with an 1814 watermark, suggesting that salt dishes in this form were available at least until that date.¹²

Obviously this salt could not have arrived before Moses Tabbs's death in 1779; it must have belonged to one of the later tenants, possibly William Kerby. An inventory of his estate in 1803 lists a pepper castor valued at eight cents, but no salt.¹³ Except for "sum old tea ware" none of the ceramics or glass are described as "lots" in Kerby's inventory, indicating that he either did not own a salt at the time of his death, or it was missed by the appraisers. Unfortunately the vessel descriptions are limited to vague terms such as "1 stone pitcher," "5 earthen plates," "1 slop bowl," etc. The absence of such descriptive terms as "blue edged plates," "enamelled plates," and "printed plates" may mean that most of William Kerby's ceramics were plain creamware like the salt from the cellar.

Artifacts from the post-cleanup occupation level show a continuous accumulation covering approximately the first half of the nineteenth century. In the southeast corner of the cellar, a dirt ramp that replaced an earlier stairwell separated the occupation debris into a lower and upper level. This separation facilitated the establishment of a ceramic sequence for the cellar from about 1800 to the last occupation of the house about 1850.

Fill from the ramp yielded sherds from 108 vessels, 64 percent of the total sample of 170 vessels of the occupation levels of the cellar. Sherds to some of the vessels from the ramp deposits were recovered in the area of the trench to the southwest of the house, suggesting a probable source of the fill. Cross-mending sherds from the ramp fill and the occupation levels of the cellar indicate that the ramp was made up of redeposited midden contemporary with the lower occupation level. Three or four of the vessels represented by sherds from the ramp fill are eighteenth-century types and predate the occupation levels in the cellar by 30 to 50 years. This fact suggests that the midden area down the hill from the house began accumulating before the cleaning of the cellar.

Sherds from a green transfer-printed saucer (ST 2-208 J/GO) found under the ramp fill provide the *terminus post quem* for the building of the ramp. In the late

¹⁰ *Designs of Sundry Articles of Queen's or Cream-colour'd Earthenware Manufactured by Hartley, Greens, and Co. At Leeds Pottery* (Leeds, 1794); reprinted in Donald Towner, *The Leeds Pottery* (New York, 1965). Plate 60, Item No. 221 is the same shape as the creamware salt from the Tabbs cellar. According to Towner, the 1794 catalogue was an enlargement of an earlier catalogue issued in 1783. The 1794 catalogue added plates 30-76. Towner stated that the catalogue he reproduced had 1814 water marks on the paper but had the same contents as the 1794 catalogue.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ St. Mary's County Inventories, 1803-1807, ff. 22-27, ms. (inventory of William Kerby's estate, 1803).

1820s Simeon Shaw, historian of the Staffordshire potteries, observed that "very recently several of the most eminent manufactures" had introduced red, brown, and green transfer-printing which was "obtaining a decided preference in most genteel circles."¹⁴ Shaw's firsthand observations from 1828 or 1829 date the introduction of these transfer-print colors and suggest that the green transfer-printed saucer sherds from under the ramp fill could not have arrived there much before 1830, if one allows time for fashion to get to southern Maryland. Thus it appears that the ramp was built after 1830.

Documentary evidence supports this conclusion. When Daniel Campbell died in 1829 he left Tabbs Purchase to his daughter Sarah, who was then a minor.¹⁵ In 1830 and again in 1833 the orphans' court ordered evaluations of the property.¹⁶ Both describe the house as "twenty Eight feet by thirty-six feet four rooms on each floor, in very bad repair."¹⁷ After these returns, the executors most likely had the building repaired, and at this time the ramp replaced the cellar steps.

Terminal occupation of the Moses Tabbs house is not easy to establish. One of the latest sherds from the upper occupation level of the cellar belongs to a blue-flow transfer-printed saucer (ST 2-216 /BA). The earliest known advertisement for this ware in North America occurs in the *Montreal Gazette*, April 10, 1844, where it is described as "the new . . . FLOWING STONEWARE."¹⁸ Blue-flow transfer-printed ware became increasingly common after William Evans published the formula for it in 1846 in the *Art and History of the Potting Business*.¹⁹ Given this blue-flow transfer-printed sherd, it is obvious that occupation lasted at least into the 1840s.

The Pattern of Consumption

Excavations recovered sherds to a minimum of 170 ceramic vessels from the occupation levels and ramp fill of the Tabbs cellar. Provided that turnover in the occupancy of the house was not frequent, these vessels give a clear view of the consumption pattern of its tenants during the first half of the nineteenth century.²⁰ Sherds from the 38 plates recovered provide the strongest example of this pattern. Table I shows the distribution of plates.

¹⁴ Simeon Shaw, *History of the Staffordshire Potteries; and the Rise and Progress of the Manufacture of Pottery and Porcelain* (Henley, 1829; reprinted Great Neck, New York, 1968), pp. 234-35.

¹⁵ St. Mary's County Land Records, I.T.B. No. 1, ff. 501-02, microfilm.

¹⁶ St. Mary's County Annual Valuations of Real Estate and Personal Property, 1826-1841, pp. 125-26, 193-94, microfilm.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Elizabeth Collard, *Nineteenth-Century Pottery and Porcelain in Canada* (Montreal, 1961), p. 118.

¹⁹ William Evans, *Art and History of the Potting Business Compiled From the Most Practical Sources for the Especial Use of Working Potters* (Shelton, England, 1846), p. 64; reprinted in *Journal of Ceramic History*, III (1970), pp. 21-43.

²⁰ Admittedly, if Tabbs Purchase was sharecropped by tenants who moved on every year or so, the ceramics they broke would tell little about their habits. A farmer who let a house on his own farm to a sharecropper may have had such turnover. Tabbs Purchase, however, was a sizable farm of itself. Farms like it near St. Mary's are known to have been rented for long terms. The Dennis family was substantial enough to be noted on the map of 1824.

TABLE I
Dinner Plates, Moses Tabbs House Cellar

	Pre-ramp	Post ramp	Indeter- minate	Total
Green edged	3	3	2	8
Blue edged	2	10	6	18
Blue willow transfer-printed	0	3	0	3
Blue transfer-printed	1	1	1	3
Brown transfer-printed	0	0	1	1
Plain creamware	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>5</u>
Total	8	19	11	38

These plates are of the following types of wares:

	Pre-ramp	Post ramp	Indeter- minate	Total
Creamware	2	3	1	6
Pearlware	6	8	8	22
White ware or ironstone	<u>0</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>10</u>
Total	8	19	11	38

During the pre-ramp period, it appears that there was a preference for green-edged plates, followed by blue-edged and plain creamware plates. Because the sample from the pre-ramp period is so small, these preferences are not firmly established. However, when examined in the context of the plates from the post-ramp deposits, the pattern is strengthened. Preference or availability of green-edged plates declined sharply in the post ramp period in favor of blue-edged plates, which constitute more than half of the sample from the upper occupation level. The two blue-edged plates from the pre-ramp period may represent the beginning of the transition, while the three green-edged plates in the post ramp level represent the end of it. On the other hand, perhaps there was a change in the tenants just prior to the building of the ramp, so that the differences between the pre- and post ramp occupation deposits represent ceramics of two different families. Creamware plates, like green-edged plates, were also on the decline in the post ramp period. What relationship the creamware plates from the pre-ramp period have to the green-edged plates is not clear; possibly they were an everyday set of dishes, or perhaps they represent the remains of an earlier set.

Sometime after the ramp was built, it appears that blue willow plates began to replace blue-edged plates. One of the blue willow plates has part of a lion and unicorn bottom mark of the type adopted after Queen Victoria came to the throne in 1837, suggesting that the transition began in the late 1830s or 1840s. This late appearance may account for the small quantity of blue willow plates recovered.

This description of the pattern of plate selection finds support in the known technological chronology of creamware's replacement by pearlware, which was in turn replaced by white wares and ironstone. Seven of the eight green-edged plates are

pearlware, and the eighth appears to be creamware. This contrasts with the blue-edged plates, of which eleven are pearlware and the remaining seven are either white ware or ironstone. Two of the blue willow plates have the bluish cast of pearlware, and the third one looks like ironstone. None of the white ware or ironstone plates are from the pre-ramp deposits, and they represent eight of the nineteen vessels from the post ramp occupation level. Both creamware and pearlware fall off in the post ramp period.

The pattern of green-edged plates, replaced by blue-edged plates, in turn replaced by blue willow plates suggests a desire on the part of the tenant or tenants of the Tabbs house to have a matching set of table plates. A certain amount of frustration accompanied the effort. A detailed study of the molded rim patterns on the blue- and green-edged plates indicates that attempts were made to create groups of plates as much alike as possible, although with limited success. Very few of these molded

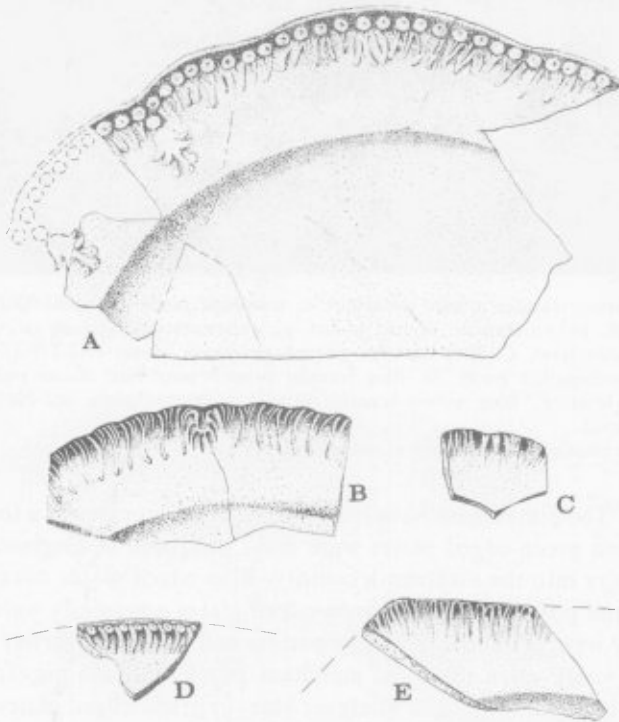


Plate II. *A.* Blue edged ironstone plate with a raised rim motif (st2-208H/CF). From the upper occupation level. *B.* Blue edged pearlware plate with an impressed rim motif (st2-208F/ID). From the ramp fill. *C.* Green edged pearlware desert or bread plate with an impressed rim motif. (st2-201/BH) Occupational level of a unit that does not have ramp fill. *D.* Blue edged whiteware or ironstone plate with an impressed rim motif. (st2-204D/AE). From the upper occupation level. *E.* Octagonal blue edged pearlware desert or bread plate with an impressed rim motif (st2-223G/AE). From upper and lower occupation levels.

Drawings by Gretchen Nolley

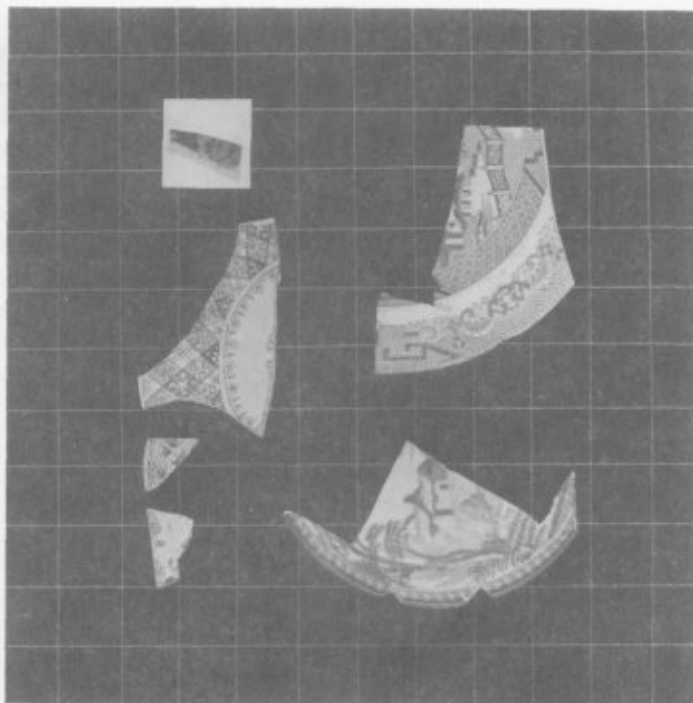


Plate III. *A.* Green transfer printed whiteware or ironstone saucer (st2-208J/GQ). From the upper occupation level. *B.* Brown transfer printed saucer on whiteware or ironstone (st2-204D/CM). From the upper occupation level. *C.* Blue transfer printed pearlware saucer (st2-219G/AC). Sherds from upper and lower occupation levels. *D.* Blue transfer printed pearlware saucer (st2-201J/AB). From upper occupation level. *E.* Blue willow transfer printed pearlware plate (st2-204D/BN). From the upper occupation level.

Note: Items are photographed against a one-inch square grid.

patterns match. The plates must have been purchased one or two at a time, rather than in sets. Blue- and green-edged plates were mass produced in England from the late eighteenth century into the nineteenth century. Blue-edged plates were marketed well into the 1850s and possibly later.²¹ Green-edged plates apparently were available into the 1830s. They were produced by many potters and in a large variety of molded rim patterns. Apparently when the local merchant purchased ceramics from English or New York wholesalers, he bought whatever blue- or green-edged plates were available at the best price. Thus the blue-edged plates of one season might not match those of the next. Evidence from this site suggests that for the consumer exact replacement was almost impossible. Those who purchased their pottery in anything less than sets could only match on gross terms. The presence of green- and blue-edged plates for

²¹George L. Miller, "Some Notes on Blue Edgeware," ms., p. 8, St. Mary's City Commission, St. Mary's City, Maryland.

considerable periods of time and the large variety of types recovered suggest that the tenants of the Tabbs house wanted a matching table service. However, shifts in style and a level of income that would not permit the extravagance of buying a complete set in a single purchase kept them from achieving this simple aim.

Even after the switch to blue willow plates, purchases continued to be by the piece. Two of the three blue willow plates are pearlware and seem to be from the same set, but the third one is ironstone and has a rim flange of a different size. In addition to the blue willow plates, two blue transfer-printed plates of different patterns were recovered. Possibly these plates were the closest available match to the blue willow pattern when the time came to replace them.

Cups and saucers reinforce many of the conclusions drawn from studying the plate sample. Styles in teawares existed in great variety, apparently changed faster, and were not produced in standard designs over long periods. Sherds from 36 saucers or saucer size plates, 25 cups, and five mugs were recovered from the occupation levels and ramp fill of the cellar. Almost none of these vessels match. Several cups and saucers match each other, but none of the saucers match other saucers, and only two cups match. Table II shows the great diversity of types found. During the pre-ramp period, it seems that there was a preference for blue-on-white and polychrome hand-painted cups and saucers, which were replaced in popularity during the post ramp period by transfer-printed and sponge-decorated wares. Six porcelain saucers and three cups were also recovered from the occupation levels but were more common in the pre-ramp period. Types found include blue-on-white, red-enamelled, and black-enamelled.

From the large variety of cups and saucers recovered, it is easy to see that if any attempt was made to match pieces, it failed. None of the cups and saucers match any of the plates from the occupation levels or ramp fill. Purchase of cups and saucers, like that of plates, must have been geared to replacement of breakage. A cup and matching saucer was the most common unit of purchase. Rapid style changes and the number of styles available made matching over time nearly impossible.

Sherds from 15 bowls were recovered from the occupation levels and ramp fill of the cellar. None of them match, which again indicates a replacement purchase pattern. Types found include plain creamware, banded yellow ware, lead-glazed redware, polychrome-painted pearlware, banded creamware, and strubbled mocha variants on creamware and white ware. The size and diversity of types in this sample make it difficult to identify a bowl sequence. One consistency is that both mocha and banded wares were used before and after the ramp was built. Other bowl types occur in such small quantities that it is not possible to assign significance to their presence or absence. Additional tableware such as teapots and serving pieces were not recovered in large enough quantities to allow meaningful analysis. They, like the other wares discussed, do not show a pattern of matching.

From the data on plates, saucers, cups, and bowls, it is clear that tenant farmers who occupied the Moses Tabbs house for the first half of the nineteenth century purchased tableware to replace those they broke rather than buying entire sets. They

were fairly successful at matching plates with similar, though not exact, replacements, probably because there was a steadier market for plates and a greater stability in plate styles. Teawares were almost completely unmatched, suggesting that styles changed rapidly, making matching more difficult. Bowls occurred in less variety of types than plates, but there was a greater variation of motifs.

Does the tableware from the Moses Tabbs cellar suggest a consumption pattern typical for southern Maryland in the first half of the nineteenth century? In an attempt to answer this question, three graduate students in the St. Mary's City Commission's summer archaeology program studied probate inventories filed in St. Mary's County

TABLE II
Cups and Saucers, Moses Tabbs House Cellar

	Pearlware			White Ware and Ironstone		
	Pre-ramp	Post ramp	Indeter- minate	Pre-ramp	Post ramp	Indeter- minate
Hand-painted						
Blue-on-white oriental motif						
Cups	1					
Blue-on-white floral motif						
Saucers	2		4			
Cups	1	2			1	
Polychrome soft pastel hues						
Saucers	1					
Cups		1				
Polychrome large floral motifs						
Saucers		2		1	4	
Cups	1	3			3	
Polychrome sprig motif						
Saucers					2	1
Cups					3	
Sponge-decorated						
Saucers		3			2	
Cups					1	
Transfer-printed						
Dark blue						
Saucers		1	1			
Cups		2				
Light blue						
Saucers			1		1	
Cups					1	
Brown						
Saucers					1	1
Cups					1	1
Green						
Saucers					1	
Totals	6	14	6	1	21	3

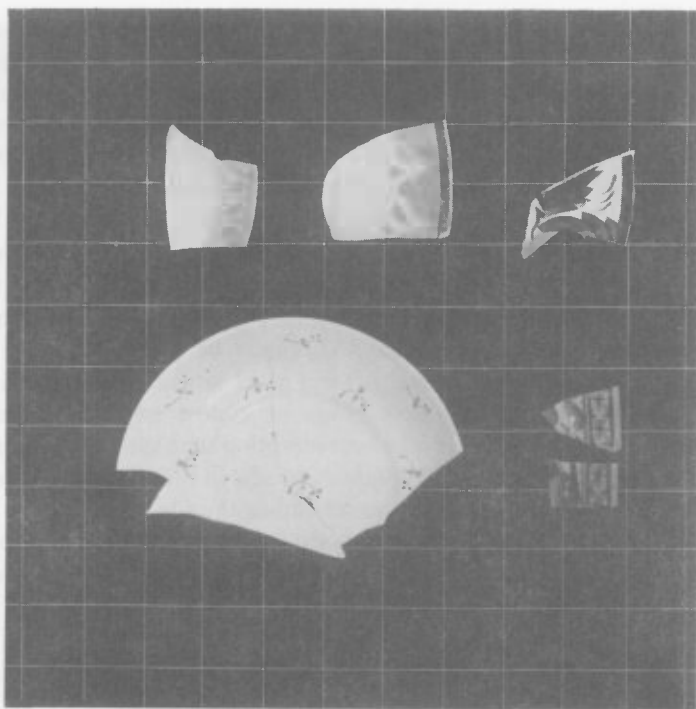


Plate IV. *A.* Hand-painted blue-on-white pearlware saucer with a floral motif (st2-205D/AC). From the lower and upper occupation levels. *B.* Hand-painted blue-on-white pearlware saucer with an oriental motif (st2-204H/AB). From the lower occupation level. *C.* Hand-painted blue- and red-on-white ironstone or whiteware cup (st2-213M/Ab). From the upper occupation level. *D.* Handpainted sprig motif saucer (red, green, and black-on-white) on whiteware or ironstone (st2-208F/GA). From the upper occupation level. *E.* Pink sponge decorated whiteware or ironstone saucer (st2-208D/EK). From the upper occupation level.

during the 1840s. They restricted their study of inventories to heads of households, drawing a stratified sample based on tax lists.²² Unfortunately a bias towards the wealthy limited the usefulness of their study. Alan Hugley of the St. Mary's City Commission demonstrated this bias in a study of 83 individuals taken from St. Mary's County tombstones dating from the 1840s. His sample was made up of males who had obtained their majority. Only 30 of them were probated, and all of these owned land and/or slaves.²³ Nevertheless, the inventories studied shed some light on the differences between the ceramic consumption pattern of tenants like the occupants of the Tabbs house and the wealthier residents of the county in the 1840s.

Unfortunately only 24 of the inventories are detailed enough to allow identification

²² Lynne Herman, John O. Sands, and Daniel Schechter, "Ceramics in St. Mary's County During the 1840's: A Socio-Economic Study," ms., St. Mary's City Commission, St. Mary's City, Maryland.

²³ Alan D. Hugley, St. Mary's City Commission, personal communication.

of the ceramics. Table III summarizes the distribution and number of sets of table plates in these households. For the purpose of this study, a set has been defined as six or more plates of the same ware; i.e., "6 green edged plates" would count as a set. Where terms such as a "lot of blue edged plates" or a "set of dinner plates" are used, they also have been considered as designating sets. Only two households had just one kind of ceramic plates listed. Jonathan Thomas had only one "edged plate" and William Wherrett had six "Liverpool" plates. The other 22 inventories all had at least two different types of wares. All of the types recovered from the Tabbs cellar are common in the 1840s inventories, indicating that the pattern of purchase rather than the types of wares was the major difference in ceramic consumption between the wealthy and poor of St. Mary's County. This may be a reflection of the ceramic variety available from local merchants. A total of 59 sets of ceramic plates are listed in the 24 household inventories, an average of almost two and a half sets per inventory. This clearly is a higher level of consumption than that of the tenant farmers living in the Moses Tabbs house. The quantity of sets in the inventories indicates that the inventoried families purchased by the set rather than by the piece.

Appraisers failed to describe 24 of the sets with sufficient precision to permit identification, employing terms such as "13 dinning plates" or "12 dishes." The

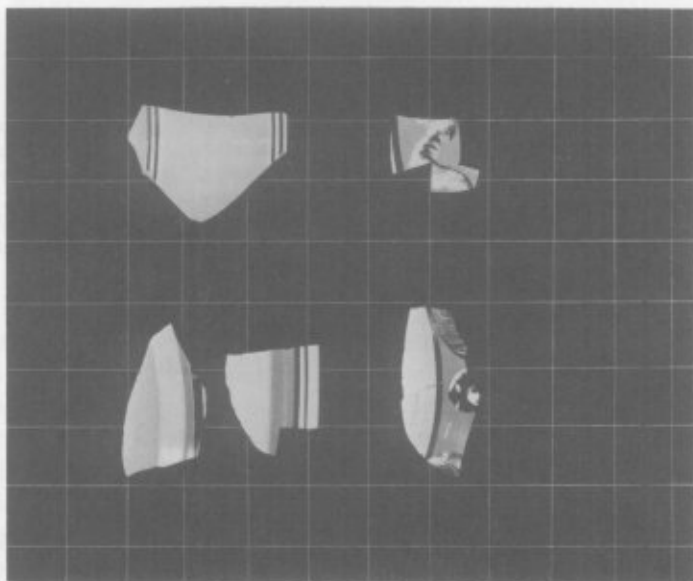


Plate V. *A.* Mocha pearlware bowl with a strubbled worm motif (blue, brown, and white on a yellow-drab-brown band), st2-208D/GU. Sherds from lower and upper occupation level. *B.* Mocha whiteware bowl with a strubbled worm motif (brown, blue, and white on a tan band), st2-213L/JD. From the occupation level of a unit without ramp fill. *C.* Blue and brown banded pearlware bowl (st2-208F/1N). From the upper occupation level. *D.* Yellowware banded bowl with dark brown and blue bands (st2-204C/EE). From the upper occupation level.

TABLE III

St. Mary's County Probate Inventories 1840 to 1850

Information abstracted from 24 inventories describing table plates:

Inventories listing:		Inventories listing:		No. of sets of 6 or more plates
Edge decorated	17	Green	4	2
		Blue	10	3
		Undescribed	5	<u>4</u>
				9
Transfer-printed	20	Blue	19	13
		Red	1	1
		Brown	1	1
		Green	1	1
		Purple	1	<u>1</u>
				17
Plain white	4	Stone china	1	1
		White	3	<u>1</u>
				2
"China"	5	Blue	1	1
		Gilt edge	1	1
		Undescribed	5	<u>5</u>
				7
Undescribed plates	17			—
Total described sets	35			24
Total undescribed sets	<u>24</u>			
Total sets	59 (in 24 households)			

remaining 35 sets are more fully described with labels like "blue edged plates," "edged plates," "blue plates," "Liverpool plates," etc. Nine of the 24 inventories mentioned Liverpool plates, raising the question of their identity. A comparison of inventories listing "Liverpool ware" with those listing blue plates resolved the puzzle. The two terms are mutually exclusive, suggesting that both describe blue transfer-printed plates, which occurred in 19 of the 24 inventories. Interestingly enough, the term willow ware does not occur in any of the inventories, suggesting that it was not familiar enough for appraisers to know it by name.

Blue transfer-printed, green-edged, and blue-edged plates, as shown in Table III, were all common in the 1840s inventories, although the green-edged plates seemed to represent remnants of sets and to be on the decline. It appears that the ceramics from the Tabbs cellar are not much different from those of the wealthier residents in the County. The difference appears in the purchasing pattern. Wealthier residents purchased entire sets, while tenant farmers (based on a sample of one site) were buying their pottery by the piece.

In 1914 a home economist admonished farmers' wives for purchasing ceramics and other items one at a time:²⁴

Women waste much time and energy in buying things one by one; . . . china, linen, and the clothing necessary for changes of season, should be bought by the set or quantity marked. . . . Women buy a collar or two, . . . a bread plate, a few glasses, etc. and then are surprised that they seem to have very little for the money. Unless the housewife be really poor, or unless the money be doled out to her irregularly, it will invariably pay to buy in quantity Handkerchiefs, stockings, underclothing, china, drinking glasses cost less by the dozen and half dozen than by the piece.

Buying in quantity undoubtedly produced equal savings in the days of the Tabbs house tenants, but their efforts to match tablewares suggest that inability, rather than ignorance or laziness, frustrated these efficiencies.

²⁴ Isaac Phillips Roberts, *The Farmstead: The Making of the Rural Home and Lay-out of the Farm* (New York, 1914), pp. 227-28.

Death in the Chesapeake: Two Life Tables for Men in Early Colonial Maryland

LORENA S. WALSH
RUSSELL R. MENARD

Death is a fundamental source of social discontinuity; knowledge of its frequency and of when it was most likely to strike is essential to understanding past societies. What was the likelihood that a young man who migrated to Maryland would live long enough to test the limits of opportunity in the New World? If an immigrant did manage to establish a family would he live to see his children grow into adults, marry, and have children of their own? What proportion of his children would, in turn, see their offspring through life's cycle of birth, marriage, procreation, and death? Precise answers to such questions would provide basic insight into the quality of life along the tobacco coast.

Yet, despite a growing interest in colonial demography, little is known about mortality in the early South.¹ In part, this reflects a long-standing neglect, but it is primarily due to a lack of evidence. The detailed, comprehensive registers of vital events that have formed the basis for the most exciting work in colonial demography are a rarity in the Chesapeake region. A register good enough for family reconstitution does not exist for Maryland in the seventeenth century. Thus, the historian is forced to use somewhat unorthodox materials and methods to develop the

¹ For examples of recent work in colonial demographic history, see Philip J. Greven, Jr., *Four Generations: Population, Land and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1970); John Demos, *A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony* (New York, 1970); Kenneth A. Lockridge, "The Population of Dedham, Massachusetts, 1636-1736," *Economic History Review*, 2d ser., XIX (1966), pp. 318-44; P. M. G. Harris, "The Social Origins of American Leaders: The Demographic Foundations," *Perspectives in American History*, III (1969), pp. 159-344; Susan L. Norton, "Population Growth in Colonial America: A Study of Ipswich, Massachusetts," *Population Studies*, XXV (1971), pp. 433-52; Daniel Scott Smith, "The Demographic History of Colonial New England," *Journal of Economic History*, XXXII (1972), pp. 165-83; Maris A. Vinovskis, "Mortality Rates and Trends in Massachusetts Before 1860," *ibid.*, pp. 184-213; Robert V. Wells, "Quaker Marriage Patterns in a Colonial Perspective," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., XXIX (1972), pp. 415-42. Despite a recent spurt of activity in the demographic history of the colonial South, most of the work is yet unpublished. Wesley Frank Craven, *White, Red, and Black: The Seventeenth-Century Virginian* (Charlottesville, Va., 1971); Russell R. Menard, "Immigration to the Chesapeake Colonies in the Seventeenth Century: A Review Essay," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, LXVIII (1973), pp. 323-29; and Irene W. D. Hecht, "The Virginia Muster of 1624/5 as a Source for Demographic History," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., XXX (1973), pp. 65-92, are exceptions.

demographic information essential to understanding life and death along the tobacco coast.

This essay provides some of the data needed to answer questions about mortality. It measures expectation of life among adult males who lived in Maryland in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Two life tables are presented, one for male immigrants, a second for men born in the colony. The results are rough, particularly the measure of immigrant longevity, but, given the quality of the available evidence, it is probably impossible to determine expectation of life with significantly greater precision. If used with caution and a full appreciation of their limitations, the tables offer students a useful guide to a basic parameter of life in the Chesapeake colonies.

The life table for Maryland natives is based on the experience of a selected group of males whose births were recorded in Charles County between 1652 and 1699.² Because it is usually impossible to find death dates for children, only men known to have lived to age twenty are included. Males known to have died during childhood or who did not appear in any record as adults were dropped. We found 153 men whose births were recorded and who did appear in the records after reaching age 20. Since the vital records are almost exclusively confined to births, probate records provided a majority of the death dates.³ This introduces some inaccuracy into the life tables, there being always a delay between death and the initiation of probate. However, the lag was usually short and the error seems tolerable. Users of the table might wish to compensate by reducing all estimates of longevity by one-eighth or one-fourth of a year.

We found age at death for 122 of the 153 native-born men, 80 percent of the total. Their experience is described in Table I, Column A. But what of the remaining 31? Were they all very young when they died? Or very old? Can we assume that they died at the same rate as those whose age at death is known? To create a range of mortality estimates that would include the life experience of these 31 men, we followed their careers to determine the date at which they could last be proven to have been alive in Maryland. We then distributed their deaths according to a procedure developed by E. Gautier and L. Henry adapted to fit the peculiarities of the population under study.⁴ The high mortality estimate (Table I, Column C) assumes that all the men whose death date is unknown died the day after they last appeared in the records. The low mortality estimate (Table I, Column E) assumes that all unknowns lived for ten years

² The births appear in Charles County Court and Land Records, P no. 1, Q no. 1, ms., Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland. The entries in the registers are largely confined to births and are not adequate for extensive family reconstitution.

³ The probate records are at the Hall of Records, Annapolis. They are described in Elisabeth Hartsook and Gust Skordas, *Land Office and Prerogative Court Records of Colonial Maryland*, Hall of Records Commission Publication No. 4 (Annapolis, 1946).

⁴ Etienne Gautier and Louis Henry, *La population de Crulai, paroisse Normande* (Paris, 1958). See also the discussions in E. A. Wrigley, "Mortality in Pre-Industrial England: The Example of Colyton, Devon, Over Three Centuries," *Daedalus* (1968), pp. 546-80; T. H. Hollingsworth, *Historical Demography* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1969), pp. 185-89; and E. A. Wrigley, ed., *An Introduction to English Historical Demography* (London, 1966), pp. 143-53. George W. Barclay, *Techniques of Population Analysis* (New York, 1958), pp. 93-122, provides a good introduction to the structure and uses of life tables.

TABLE I
Expectation of Life for Males born in Charles County, Maryland, 1652-1699

Age	A. Known Ages at Death	B. Preferred Estimate	C. High Mortality	D. Revised High Mortality	E. Low Mortality
20	23.3	26.0	23.1	24.5	27.2
25	20.2	22.7	20.5	21.6	24.0
30	18.0	20.4	18.5	19.4	21.7
35	15.7	18.0	15.9	16.9	19.3
40	13.5	15.6	13.4	14.5	17.0
45	12.8	14.5	12.5	13.5	16.0
50	10.5	12.0	10.1	11.0	13.6
55	9.2	10.6	8.9	9.6	11.8
60	8.2	9.3	8.0	8.7	10.3
65	8.3	9.4	8.0	8.7	10.1
70	5.7	7.0	6.0	6.5	7.3
75	3.5	3.5	3.4	3.5	3.5

A—includes only those whose date of death was discovered.

B—assumes that unknowns lived until day of last appearance and then followed rate of knowns.

C—assumes that unknowns died the day after their last appearance in the records.

D—assumes that one-half unknowns died the day after their last appearance and that one-half lived until the day they last appeared and then followed the rate of the knowns. Unknowns participate only through the age at which they last appear.

E—assumes that unknowns lived for ten years after their last appearance and then followed the rate of knowns. Unknowns participate only through the age at which they last appear.

after their last appearance and then shared the mortality experience of those whose date of death is known. The high and low mortality assumptions are sufficiently extreme to encompass the possible effects of the men whose death date is unknown upon the measure of longevity. The actual mean expectation of life surely fell within this range. Instead of following the usual practice of taking a mean of the high and low mortality tables as the "best estimate," we developed a preferred estimate by assuming that the unknowns lived until the date of their last appearance in the records and then followed the pattern of the men whose age at death is known (Table I, Column B). In all of these calculations the unknowns participated in the table through only the age cohort in which they last appear.

The high mortality assumption is clearly unreasonable and can be revised to reflect the range of possibilities more accurately. There are three reasons for the failure to determine the date a participant died: emigration, a death that is not mentioned in any of the surviving records, and the inability to create a firm link between a man whose birth date was recorded and other records for a man of the same name. The high mortality estimate assumes that a special instance of the second reason accounts for all of the unknowns and certainly understates expectation of life. A more reasonable assumption is that only one-half of the unknowns died the day after their last appearance in the records and that the rest shared the mortality experience of those

TABLE II
Expectation of Life for Male Immigrants to Maryland in the Seventeenth Century

Age	A. Known Ages at Death		B. Preferred Estimate		C. High Mortality		D. Revised High Mortality		E. Low Mortality	
	N	Yrs to Live	N	Yrs to Live	N	Yrs to Live	N	Yrs to Live	N	Yrs to Live
22	71	21.3	97	22.7	97	17.9	97	20.3	97	24.2
25	111	19.8	153	21.4	153	16.3	153	18.8	153	22.6
30	177	16.2	225	17.4	225	14.3	225	15.8	225	19.2
35	203	14.2	235	15.0	235	13.4	235	14.2	235	16.8
40	182	12.7	201	13.2	201	12.3	201	12.8	201	14.2
45	138	11.5	151	11.8	151	10.6	151	11.2	151	12.8
50	97	10.0	103	10.3	103	9.9	103	10.1	103	11.2
55	67	8.7	72	8.8	72	8.4	72	8.6	72	9.2
60	35	9.8	36	10.0	36	9.8	36	9.9	36	10.2
65	24	8.4	25	8.7	25	8.2	25	8.4	25	8.8
70	18	5.5	18	5.5	18	5.5	18	5.5	18	5.5
75	10	2.8	10	2.8	10	2.8	10	2.8	10	2.8

A—includes only those whose date of death was discovered.

B—assumes that unknowns lived until day of last appearance and then followed rate of knowns.

C—assumes that unknowns died the day after their last appearance in the records.

D—assumes that one-half unknowns died the day after their last appearance and that one-half lived until the day they last appeared and then followed the rate of the knowns. Unknowns participate only through the age at which they last appear.

E—assumes that unknowns lived for ten years after their last appearance and then followed the rate of knowns. Unknowns participate only through the age at which they last appear.

whose date of death has been determined (Table I, Column D). If this revised high mortality figure is accepted as a lower bound, a man born in Charles County in the seventeenth century who reached age twenty could expect to live an additional 24.5 to 27.2 years. Men who reach age twenty in the United States today can expect to live nearly twice that long.⁵

The immigrant life table is constructed from ages given in depositions. Immigrants seldom left record of their precise birth date, but they often left good approximations. When a person gave evidence for use in court, his age in years was commonly recorded along with other identifying tags such as occupation and residence. Such evidence of a birth date is certainly not as reliable as an entry in a register. At best, it is only accurate to within a year. However, since the evidence occurs within a legal document, it is more than a casual, off-hand reference and it is probably as reliable as age information obtained from a census. While it would be unreasonable to assume that every Marylander knew his exact age in years, there seems no reason to expect a

⁵ Life tables for the United States today are available in a variety of sources. See, for example, U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957* (Washington, D.C., 1960), series B76-100.

TABLE III

Impact of Several Seasoning Rates on the Preferred Estimate of Expectation of Life at Age 22

% Who die of Seasoning	0%	5%	10%	15%	20%
Expectation of Life in years	22.7 yrs.	21.6	20.5	19.4	18.3

Note: Assumes that immigrants were age 22 when they arrived and that victims of seasoning died six months after arriving in Maryland.

systematic bias severe enough to seriously distort a life table.

The life table is based on the experience of all male immigrants living in Maryland who stated their ages before reaching forty years in depositions taken between 1645 and 1675.⁶ We excluded several categories of deponents: servants who did not later appear in the records as freemen, men who gave their ages as less than twenty-two years and did not appear in the records after reaching age twenty-two, and men who were not residents of Maryland when they gave depositions. The dates of death of men in these classifications cannot usually be found; excluding them from the table should not bias the results. We studied the careers of the 362 men who remained to determine the date of their death.⁷

Unfortunately, we could find the date of death of only 265 of the 362 participants. We followed the careers of the remaining 97 (27 percent of the total) to determine the date at which they were surely last alive in the colony and then distributed their deaths according to the four assumptions used in the table for natives to create a range of life expectancies. The results are displayed in Table II. Again, if the revised high mortality estimate is used as a lower bound, a man who came to Maryland in his early twenties could expect to live only 20.3 to 24.2 additional years.

The brevity of life in the Chesapeake is even more striking when it is realized that the immigrant life table does not reflect the risks of "seasoning," the contemporary word for illnesses incurred during the first year as newcomers adjusted to the new climate, diet, and disease environment. Almost all of the deponents had been in Maryland for more than a year before they were called upon to give evidence. Unfortunately, no method of measuring the proportion who died during seasoning has yet been discovered, but the number was substantial. Table III illustrates the effect of various seasoning rates on the preferred estimate of expectation of life. We assumed that those who died of seasoning were age twenty-two when they immigrated and that they died six months after arrival.

Defining the population for the immigrant table presented some special difficulties.

⁶ The depositions were collected from printed county and Provincial Court records in *Archives of Maryland*, William Hand Browne, *et al.*, eds. (72 vols. to date: Baltimore, 1883-), hereafter cited as *Maryland Archives*, and from the Testamentary Proceedings and the Patent Liber series at the Hall of Records, Annapolis.

⁷ Only 31 men who met the qualifications left depositions before passing age 20. It was therefore necessary to begin the immigrant life table at age 22; by that age there were enough participants to construct reliable estimates.

A man participated in the estimate of longevity only from the time he first gave a deposition until he died, even though an earlier date of immigration might be available. The following hypothetical example illustrates why this was essential. John Brown arrived in Maryland in 1650. In 1660 he gave a deposition stating his age as thirty years. Twelve years later, in 1672, his widow took out a bond to administer his estate. In constructing the life table, Brown was put in observation only from 1660 to 1672, not from 1650, for, had he died before 1660, his age at death would not have been known.

By following this convention rigorously, we prevented a distortion in the measure of longevity that could easily result from a casual use of depositions. The longer a man lived in Maryland, and therefore the older he was, the greater the chance that he would be called upon to give evidence in court. Thus, men who stated their ages in depositions tended to have lived longer than the average resident of the colony. If we had simply taken the mean age at death of the men who left depositions as our guide we would have overestimated expectation of life in Maryland. By not allowing a man to participate until he stated his age in a deposition, we eliminated this upward bias.⁸

John Brown can illustrate a further peculiarity of the immigrant life table. Cohort or generational life tables usually chart the experience of a base population which declines as its members die. This procedure would have allowed only those men to participate who gave depositions while in their early twenties; John Brown would have been excluded. Participation of men like Brown is necessary to give validity to estimates for later ages. Only 97 men left depositions stating their age while still in their early twenties. This is an adequate number for an estimate of longevity for men age 22, but by the time they reached age 40 or 50 their numbers had been so depleted by death that they seemed too few to support a generalization about men who survived to middle age. By including men such as Brown who left depositions later in life, we increased the number of participants in the older age cohorts. Since the age at which a man gave a deposition could not have affected his future life span, this procedure should not distort the calculations. However, it gives the life table a peculiar structure, since the number of participants shows an initial increase instead of a decline.

To facilitate comparison with other studies of mortality and to enhance the usefulness of the research, we have constructed survival rates per 100 population. For the men born in Maryland, we have included all participants, whether or not we know their age at death, with the unknowns distributed according to the "preferred estimate" described above. The same procedure is followed for immigrants, but only those who entered observation by age twenty-two are included. The results are displayed in Table IV.

Several questions concerning the quality of the data should be considered. Do the tables conceal significant variation within the Chesapeake region or changes over

⁸ In technical terms, this procedure insured that our measure recorded the number of person-years lived while each participant was in observation and did not merely report the mean age at death of men who were more than 22 years old when they died.

TABLE IV
Proportion of Males Surviving at each Age per 100 Population

Age	Proportion of Immigrants Surviving	Proportion of Natives Surviving
20	100.0 ^a	100.0
30	83.5	83.7
40	58.8	65.4
50	29.9	39.9
60	14.4	20.3
70	6.2	6.6

^a Age 22.

time? Are they heavily weighted in favor of a particular social group? The number of participants in the immigrant table is too small, and precise information on residence too often unavailable to permit a detailed breakdown by region. However, a crude division of the province into Eastern and Western Shores is possible. Deponents aged 22 to 29 whose date of death is known lived 1.7 years longer if they resided on the Western Shore than if they lived on the Eastern Shore. While this is a gap worth noting, it is not too large to prohibit treating the colony as a unit. There is no reason at present to believe that the disease environment in Charles County differed radically from that elsewhere in the Chesapeake. Studies of mortality in other regions are needed, but until they are carried out these measures can stand as a not severely unrepresentative index of life expectancy along the tobacco coast.⁹

In an attempt to identify possible social bias, we examined the careers of the 111 immigrant men whose death dates are known and who left depositions by age 25. We discovered status on arrival for 80; 55 (69 percent) arrived as indentured servants and 25 (31 percent) came as freemen. This is not markedly different from the proportion of freemen and servants found in the immigrant population as a whole, and suggests that serious social bias is not distorting the life table.¹⁰ A check of the status of the fathers who recorded births of sons in Charles County also revealed no perceptible bias. Nevertheless, some upward social bias may be present in the life table. In the heavy outmigration from the Chesapeake that began in the mid-1690's, poor families were more likely to emigrate than the moderately prosperous or the rich.¹¹ A

⁹ The St. Mary's City Commission is constructing a life table for men born in Somerset County, Maryland in the seventeenth century which we hope to publish soon. Darrett Rutman of the University of New Hampshire, studying Middlesex County, Virginia, and Kevin Kelly of the Institute of Early American History and Culture, studying Surry County, Virginia, report male life expectancies close to those presented in this essay.

¹⁰ In a sample of 806 immigrants drawn from Maryland headright entries in the Patent Libers, 30% arrived as free settlers and 70% came as servants.

¹¹ For emigration in the 1690's, see Governor Francis Nicholson to the Duke of Shrewsbury, June 14, 1695, *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, American and West Indies, 1693-1696*, W. N. Sainsbury, et al., eds. (44 vols. to date: London, 1860-), no. 1891; Thomas Lawrence to the Board of Trade, June 25, 1695, *ibid.*, no. 1916; Francis Nicholson to the Board of Trade, Mar. 27, 1697, *Maryland Archives*, XXIII, pp. 87-88.

disproportionate number of sons from poor families may have been excluded from the life table because they moved from the county with their parents before reaching age twenty. Still, the estimate of expectation of life should at least reflect accurately the experience of men who lived and died in the county.

The life tables do not seem to conceal significant changes over time. A close study of the participants in the table for immigrants suggests that expectation of life declined by about one year from the mid-1640's to the early 1670's. Given the small size of the sample, this change is too slight to indicate a trend. Among natives, longevity may have increased for men born at the end of the century, but again there are too few participants to support a firm conclusion.

Professor John Duffy has suggested that, while death rates were high among immigrants, expectation of life improved with the growth of a native colonial population.¹² Was this the result of some medical advance—the widespread use of quinine to control malaria, for example—or were the native-born more resistant to local diseases than immigrants?

Our study shows some improvement in life expectancy for the native-born. If the preferred estimates are followed, a comparison of the two life tables indicates about three years longer life for natives than for immigrants up to age forty, although the difference declined in the older age cohorts. When deaths due to seasoning are considered, the gap between immigrant and native life expectancies is lengthened. If, for example, 10 percent of the new arrivals died within a year of moving to the province, the difference in expectation of life between natives and immigrants in their early twenties would nearly double.

Professor Philip Curtin, in a recent discussion of epidemiology and the slave trade, advanced an argument that is helpful in interpreting this difference in expectation of life between immigrant and native-born men in Maryland. Immigration almost invariably results in higher rates of morbidity and mortality for the migrant. Disease environments exhibit a wide range of local variations throughout the world; immunities acquired in one place often offer little protection in another. "Childhood disease environment," Curtin writes, "is the crucial factor in determining the immunities of a given adult population. Not only will the weakest members of a society be removed, leaving a more resistant population of survivors; childhood and infancy are also a period of life when many infections are relatively benign." As a rule, Professor Curtin concludes, "the individual will be safest if he stays in the disease environment of his childhood; if he migrates, a fully effective set of immunities to match a new disease environment could not be expected to appear in his generation."¹³ This suggests that the slight improvement in native-born expectation of life reflected in our tables is largely the result of immunities to Chesapeake diseases that the men born in Charles County acquired as children.

¹² John Duffy, *Epidemics in Colonial America* (Baton Rouge, La., 1953), pp. 237-47.

¹³ Philip D. Curtin, "Epidemiology and the Slave Trade," *Political Science Quarterly*, LXXXIII (1968), pp. 196-97.

Additional explanations may be necessary for continued improvements in life expectancy. In the families studied, second generation natives lived longer than the children of immigrants, although not dramatically longer. The mean age at death for 88 men identified as first generation sons (using all participants according to the "preferred estimate" described above) was 45.4 years, while for the 41 identified as second generation it was 49.0 years. The numbers are too small to permit a generalization to all second generation sons, but we know that by the mid-eighteenth century expectation of life was much higher still.¹⁴ Life expectancy apparently improved for the men born shortly after those in our study. What happened and why are questions worth investigating.

The data required for a direct measure of female longevity is unavailable, but there is evidence that women lived longer than men in seventeenth-century Maryland. Probate records yield insight into relative mortality by sex for the slave population. All slaves appearing in inventories taken in Calvert, Charles, Prince George's, and St. Mary's counties between 1658 and 1710 were classified by age and sex. In the age category 16 to 50 years men outnumbered women by 1½ to 1, a reflection of the sex distribution of immigrants. Among slaves over 50 years old there were nearly twice as many women as men. It is conceivable that this pattern is a result of the importation of old slave women, but a substantially longer expectation of life for females seems a more likely explanation.¹⁵

A study of marriages among whites in Charles Country also suggest lower female mortality. We began with a list of marriages in which the names of both husband and wife were known and then followed their histories to determine which partner died first. In 411 seventeenth-century marriages, 221 wives outlived their husbands, while only 114 husbands survived their wives. In 27 marriages both partners died at about the same time; in 49 we were unable to discover which partner survived. The results exaggerate the relative longevity of women, first, because women were several years younger than men at first marriage and, second, because a second wife with the same name as the first would appear in our count as a surviving first wife, unless, as was often the case, the first wife's death was mentioned in the records. Nevertheless, the evidence remains firm that females enjoyed longer lives than males.

Evidence is not available for an accurate measure of infant and childhood mortality; the deaths of children are rarely noted in the records. However, rough estimates can be based on model life tables. Demographers have long recognized that there are patterns in the probabilities of death by age. Mortality rates are very high immediately after birth, fall sharply during childhood, and increase steadily through the adult ages. Recently, scholars have attempted to epitomize these patterns in a few

¹⁴ This statement is based on unpublished research of Allan Kulikoff of Brandeis University and Paul G. E. Clemens of the University of Wisconsin.

¹⁵ Russell R. Menard, "The Maryland Slave Population, 1658-1730: A Demographic Profile of Blacks in Four Counties," *William and Mary Quarterly*, forthcoming, Oct. 1974.

TABLE V
Expectation of Life for Charles County Males and for Men in a Model
Life Table

Age	Maryland Natives Preferred Estimate	Princeton Tables Model West Level One
20	26.0	26.7
30	20.4	21.6
40	15.6	16.9
50	12.0	12.6
60	9.3	8.6
70	7.0	5.5

Source: Table I, Column B; Ansley J. Coale and Paul Demeny, *Regional Model Life Tables and Stable Populations* (Princeton, 1966), p. 2.

sets of figures, the most successful effort being that of Ansley Coale and Paul Demeny of the Office of Population Research at Princeton University. Coale and Demeny examined 326 life tables and identified four regional mortality patterns. For each they created a set of model life tables, which have a variety of potential uses. Most important here is the possibility of estimating mortality for infants and children by consulting the appropriate model.¹⁶

As Table V indicates, mortality level one of the Princeton West tables fits closely the experience of men born in seventeenth-century Charles County who survived to age 20. According to this model life table, 41.9 percent of all male infants would die within the first year of life, 64.3 percent would die before age 20, and expectation of life at birth for males would be only 18 years. There is evidence, however, that in fact infant and childhood mortality in Charles County could not have been so high.

First, the infant-child mortality indicated implies a death rate too high for the population to sustain growth through natural increase. While Maryland's population experienced a net natural decline during much of the seventeenth century and depended upon immigration for continued growth, there is evidence of rapid reproductive increase by the 1690s. Given the expectation of life at birth in the Princeton table, an intrinsic birth rate of more than 55 per 1000 would be required for sustained growth. Such a birth rate is well within the limits of biological possibility, but it is high for a population such as that in Maryland which suffered a severe shortage of women.¹⁷ Thus, the infant and childhood mortality rates derived by fitting

¹⁶ Ansley J. Coale and Paul Demeny, *Regional Model Life Tables and Stable Populations* (Princeton, 1966). Another set of tables is available in United Nations, Department of Social Affairs, Population Division, *Age and Sex Patterns of Mortality: Model Life Tables for Underdeveloped Countries*, U.N. Population Studies, No. 22 (New York, 1955).

¹⁷ Russell R. Menard, *The Growth of Population in Early Colonial Maryland, 1630-1712*, ms. report, St. Mary's City Commission, 1972. As late as 1704, the sex ratio among adult whites in Maryland (expressed as the number of men per 100 women) was 157.2. *Maryland Archives*, XXV, p. 256.

Charles County adult life expectancies to a model life table seem incompatible with the observed pattern of population growth. Perhaps males in Charles County experienced a pattern of age-specific mortality different from those identified by Coale and Demeny, a suggestion that finds support in the efforts of other scholars to fit the life experience of pre-nineteenth-century populations to model life tables.¹⁸

Further evidence that the Princeton table West, level one, exaggerates mortality for males under age twenty in seventeenth-century Maryland comes from the Charles County register. The births of 223 male children are recorded; 153 reached age 20 and form the basis of the native life table. The remaining 70 (31.4 percent) either died or migrated before reaching 20 years or achieved adulthood but failed to appear in the records. An upper limit for the probability of dying before age 20 can be computed from the model life tables by assuming that all 70 died young.

First we must estimate the age these children had reached when their parents registered their births in order to account for the proportionate number who must have died too young to be registered. This is information of importance, since the probability of dying during the first weeks of life was very high. The record itself makes clear that births were seldom, if ever, registered the day they occurred; on the other hand, an average delay of over a year seems unlikely.¹⁹ We have therefore assumed a range in the mean age at registration of one month to one year.

Because the model life tables present only the total deaths between birth and age one, it is necessary to estimate the distribution of deaths during the first year of life in order to determine the probable proportions in these tables of deaths between birth and the assumed mean age at which births were registered. Several studies based on family reconstitution suggest that 50 percent of the deaths between birth and age one occur within the first month of life and that 80 percent fall within the first six months.²⁰ We have used this distribution as a guide.

It is now possible to choose the appropriate model life tables, given the stated assumptions: that the 70 males born in Charles County who failed to appear in the records as adults all died before reaching age 20; and that they were one month, six months, or one year old when their births were registered. Since these 70 males are 31.4 percent of male children registered in Charles County, we can find the model table which most closely approximates this proportion of those deceased by age 20,

¹⁸ Wrigley, "Mortality in Pre-Industrial England," pp. 564-72; T. H. Hollingsworth, "The Importance of the Quality of Data in Historical Demography," *Daedalus* (1968), pp. 422-25; Hollingsworth, *Historical Demography*, pp. 343-44.

¹⁹ The register is in Charles County Court and Land Records, P no. 1, Q no. 1. If births were recorded the day they occurred their order in the register would be chronological. However, they are jumbled: June births sometimes preceed April births, for example. On the other hand, they do not deviate from chronological order as much as would be expected if the delay in registration were normally more than one year. Moreover, the register ends abruptly in March 1695, two months before the Assembly transferred the responsibility for vital records from the clerk of the county court to the clerk of the vestry. If the usual delay between birth and registration were more than a year, one would expect to find a gradual decline in the number registered beginning at least in early 1694. *Maryland Archives*, XXXVIII, p. 39.

²⁰ Wrigley, "Mortality in Pre-Industrial England," p. 568.

TABLE VI

Estimates of Infant and Childhood Mortality for Males born in Charles County, Maryland, 1652-1699

Assumed Mean Age at Registration of Birth is	Percent who Die between Birth and Age 1	Percent who Die between Age 1 and 20	Percent who Die between Birth and Age 20
One month	22.7	21.3	39.1
Six months	27.8	26.1	46.6
One year	33.7	31.4	54.5

taking care to omit the percentage of deaths—50 or 80 or 100 percent—in the first year that would have occurred before birth registration. The results appear in Table VI.²¹ Even the extreme assumptions—that the mean age at registration was one year and that all 70 males who did not appear in the records after reaching age 20 died young—indicate that the infant and childhood mortality rates obtained by simply fitting Charles County adult life expectancies to the Princeton tables are much too high. At the very most, 33.7 percent of male children may have died in their first year and 54.5 percent before age 20. Supposing mean age at registration was six months—our preferred estimate—the figures would fall to 27.8 percent and 46.6 percent respectively.

An improved estimate of life expectancy at birth now can be computed by combining the infant and childhood death rates derived by the above procedure with measures of longevity for Charles County adults.²² The results appear in Table VII. Life expectancy at birth moves from the 18 years suggested by level one of the Princeton West tables to a minimum of 21.6 years and a maximum of 29.8. The preferred estimate is 25.8 years.

We must stress that these results are at best only rough approximations of a fully accurate life table, although it is likely that the true figures would lie within the range. Because the findings for death rates before age 20 are highly speculative, the comparison which follows of mortality in Maryland with that of other areas will be confined to the discussion of adult life expectancies.

The range of estimates for adult males in both the immigrant and native life tables is large, but not too large to destroy their usefulness. Indeed, the range compares favorably with the results of studies based on family reconstitution. If the revised high

²¹ For the assumption that the age at registration was one month, level 8 of the Princeton West tables was used. For the six month and one year assumptions linear interpolation was used. The best fit for the six month assumption was level 5 plus 70% of the difference between levels 5 and 6; it can be labeled level 5.7. Level 3.5 proved the best fit for the one year assumption.

²² The low mortality assumption combines the infant and childhood death rates derived by assuming that births were registered at age one month with the low mortality estimate for Charles County adults. The high mortality estimate uses the rates found by assuming an age of one year at registration for children and the revised high mortality figures for adults. The preferred estimate combines the six months rate for those under 20 with the preferred estimate for those over 20. For a similar procedure, see Wrigley, "Mortality in Pre-Industrial England," pp. 572-75.

TABLE VII

Estimated Expectation of Life at Birth for Males born in Charles County, Maryland, 1652-1699

	High Mortality	Low Mortality	Preferred Estimate
Expectation of Life	21.6 yrs.	29.8	25.8

mortality figures are accepted as an upper bound, the range is actually lower than that generated by several such studies,²³ and it falls sharply as one proceeds through the age cohorts, reaching less than two years in both tables for those aged 50. The tables establish with certainty that life expectancy was low in Maryland; even the low mortality estimate describes an expectation of life shorter than that found in today's third world nations.²⁴ What can the tables show about longevity in Maryland as compared with the experience of men in other colonies and in seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century England?

The research needed for a detailed discussion of regional variations in expectation of life within the English colonies has not yet been carried out. Several studies exist for New England, but even those are restricted to persons born in the colonies.²⁵ Apparently, the birth dates of immigrants do not appear in the registers of vital events used by New England historians, suggesting that the method described in this essay, or some variation of it, could be applied with profit to a study of immigrant mortality even in regions where otherwise adequate registers survive. Still, some comparisons with New England are possible. Table VIII demonstrates that expectation of life for both immigrant and native Marylanders in their twenties was ten to twenty years less than for men born in the seventeenth-century New England communities so far studied. This pronounced regional variation in mortality might prove a useful reference point for scholars concerned with differences in the social history of New England and the Chesapeake colonies.

Comparison of the Maryland experience with colonies other than New England is difficult given the current state of scholarship. However, recent work by Richard S. Dunn on the British sugar islands provides a basis for speculation. Drawing on tombstone inscriptions from Jamaica and Barbados, Dunn found a median age at death of 45 years for men who survived to age 16, suggesting that expectation of life was similar in the West Indies and the Chesapeake. However, the same data yield a median age at death of 33 for women who lived to at least 16 years. This gap, as Dunn points out, raises serious questions about the usefulness of tombstones as a measure of expectation of life.²⁶ In fact, a graveyard study of a nineteenth-century French

²³ Norton, "Population Growth in Colonial New England," pp. 440-41; Wrigley, "Mortality in Pre-Industrial England," pp. 556, 560.

²⁴ Peter Laslett, *The World We Have Lost* (New York, 1965), pp. 93-95.

²⁵ Studies of mortality in colonial New England are summarized in Vinovskis, "Mortality Rates and Trends in Massachusetts," pp. 184-213.

²⁶ Richard S. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1972), pp. 329-30.

TABLE VIII
Expectation of Life for Men in Maryland and New England

Age	Maryland Immigrants	Maryland Natives	Plymouth 17th Century	Ipswich Married Before 1700	Andover Born 1640-69	Andover Born 1670-99	Salem 17th Century
20	22.7 ^a	26.0	48.2 ^b	45.0 ^b	44.3	44.8	36.1 ^b
30	17.4	20.4	40.0	—	40.8	38.7	29.2 ^c
40	13.2	15.6	31.2	30.0	32.7	31.4	24.1 ^d
50	10.3	12.0	23.7	23.1	23.5	23.5	19.1 ^e
60	10.0	9.3	16.3	16.1	16.4	15.2	14.5 ^f
70	5.5	7.0	9.9	9.5	10.3	10.2	10.0 ^g

^a Age 22

^b Age 21

^c Age 31

^d Age 41

^e Age 51

^f Age 61

^g Age 71

Sources: Table I, Column B; Table II, Column B; Maris A. Vinovskis, "Mortality Rates and Trends in Massachusetts Before 1860," *Journal of Economic History*, XXXII (1972), pp. 198-199; Philip Greven, Jr., *Four Generations: Population, Land and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1970), pp. 192, 195; John Demos, *A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony* (New York, 1970), p. 192; James K. Somerville, "A Demographic Profile of the Salem Family, 1660-1770," (Unpubl. paper presented at the Conference on Social History at Stony Brook, N.Y., Oct. 25, 1969); Susan L. Norton, "Population Growth in Colonial America: A Study of Ipswich, Massachusetts," *Population Studies*, XXV (1971), pp. 440-441.

community concluded that men who died young and women who lived to old age were seldom memorialized with a tombstone. If West Indians shared this French "differential propensity to have a tombstone," Dunn's figure overstates male life expectancies.²⁷ Dunn presents some qualitative evidence that adult males in the islands usually died in their mid-thirties. Certainly the impression he conveys is that life was much shorter there than in the Chesapeake colonies.²⁸ Perhaps expectation of life declined as one moved from north to south through the English colonies in the seventeenth century.

Comparison of the Chesapeake experience with England is inconclusive. E. A. Wrigley found that persons who married in Colyton, Devon, between 1625 and 1699 could expect to live until their mid-fifties, about ten years longer than men in Charles County.²⁹ However, Wrigley did not consider the experience of persons who did not marry, which has perhaps made his figure somewhat high as a measure of longevity for all adults. The mean age at death for married men in the Charles County life table was 49.1 years, while for batchelors it was only 32. The difference in expectation of life

²⁷ Hollingsworth, *Historical Demography*, pp. 273-74.

²⁸ Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, pp. 300-34.

²⁹ Wrigley, "Mortality in Pre-Industrial England," p. 560.

between Colyton and the Chesapeake was substantial, but it was perhaps not as great as Wrigley's data at first suggest. Nor can it be assumed that Colyton was representative of the English experience. T. H. Hollingsworth found that men from British ducal families born between 1480 and 1729 and reaching age twenty could expect to live another 28.2 years, only about two years longer than Charles County planters.³⁰ Certainly, expectation of life was shorter in London than in the provinces and even in rural England there was a wide range of life expectancies.³¹ Life was short in Maryland, probably much shorter than in England, but more work is required before we can speak with confidence of the number of years a man sacrificed by leaving England for the Chesapeake colonies.

Why was life so short in seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Maryland? Unfortunately, the evidence needed for a firm answer is not available. People described diseases that left them chronically ill or that they had recently survived, but they seldom left accounts of an immediate cause of death precise enough to permit diagnosis. When accounts of illness survive, they are often too vague to be helpful, consisting of brief comments such as a "malignant fever," or simply a "fever," or even less specifically as a "great sickness and much weakness" or a "long and grievous sickness." Nevertheless, we can offer a tentative identification of several of the most important causes of death in the Chesapeake.

Contemporary descriptions of seasoning suggest a malarial fever which apparently approached pandemic proportions among immigrants. "Most newcomers," wrote a correspondent of the Royal Society, "have a severe fever and ague, which they call the seasoning and most part have it the first year." The *Sot-Weed Factor* offers a graphic account:³²

With Cockerouse as I was sitting,
I felt a Feaver Intermitting;
A fiery Pulse beat in my Veins,
From Cold I felt resembling Pains:
This cursed seasoning I remember,
Lasted from *March* to cold *December*.

³⁰ Hollingsworth, "A Demographic Study of the British Ducal Families," in D. V. Glass and D. E. C. Eversley, eds., *Population in History* (Chicago, 1965), p. 361. The figure of 28.2 years is a mean of the life expectancies at age 20 of men born between 1480 and 1679 and between 1680 and 1729.

³¹ E. A. Wrigley, *Population in History* (New York, 1969), pp. 96-100.

³² Stanley Pargellis, ed., "An Account of the Indians in Virginia," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., XVI (1959), p. 233; "Works of Ebenezer Cook, Gent.: Laureat of Maryland . . .," Bernard C. Steiner, ed., Maryland Historical Society, *Fund Publication No. 36* (Baltimore, 1900), p. 17. See also, *The Reverend John Clayton, A Parson with a Scientific Mind: His Scientific Writings and Other Related Papers*, Edmund Berkeley and Dorothy Smith Berkeley, eds. (Charlottesville, Va., 1965), p. 26; Robert Beverley, *The History and Present State of Virginia*, Louis B. Wright, ed. (Charlottesville, Va., 1947), p. 306; William Fitzhugh to Henry Fitzhugh, July 18, 1687, in *William Fitzhugh and His Chesapeake World, 1676-1701*, Richard Beale Davis, ed. (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1963), p. 229; Hugh Jones, *The Present State of Virginia*, Richard L. Morton, ed. (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1956), p. 84; *Maryland Archives*, XLI, pp. 478-80.

Malaria was probably responsible for the deaths of a large proportion of the immigrants who died "in their seasoning;" those who survived a first attack, furthermore, suffered recurring bouts. John Duffy has called malaria "a major hurdle in the development of the American colonies."³³ Not only did it reap a grim harvest among recent immigrants, but it left many of the survivors in chronic poor health, easy victims of other infections.

According to Duffy, dysentery was as important a cause of death in the southern colonies as malaria.³⁴ Certainly complaints of what would appear to be dysentery—described as the "bloody flux"—occur frequently in seventeenth century records.³⁵ Many of the references to a "gripping of the guts" may indicate dysentery, although the term also applied to an often fatal form of lead poisoning. Whatever the cause, the "Grypes of the Gutts" was, according to one victim, "a distemper too well known in this Province."³⁶

We have identified two periods of extraordinary mortality in seventeenth-century Maryland—1675 to 1677 and 1698 to 1699. While contemporaries were aware of the existence of epidemics in the crisis years, they left no very detailed descriptions of symptoms beyond complaints of "Infectious times," swollen limbs, and general weakness.³⁷ The lack of precision in the accounts of symptoms argues against smallpox, diphtheria, or yellow fever, for they are usually accompanied by specific descriptions. The timing of the epidemics suggests influenza. John Duffy discovered an influenza epidemic in Western Europe in 1675 and he believes it spread to the colonies. He locates another in New England between November 1697 and February 1698, and again in the winter of 1699, precisely the months of heaviest mortality in Maryland.³⁸ A third epidemic, apparently less severe than the other two, raged in Maryland in 1685 and 1686. It may have been an outbreak of smallpox, which, according to William Byrd, some slaves from Gambia brought to the Chesapeake in the mid-1680s.³⁹

There are no reports that food shortages were a cause of death in Maryland, a conclusion supported by the relative price stability of grains and livestock by comparison with price movements in England.⁴⁰ The Chesapeake environment may

³³ Duffy, *Epidemics in Colonial America*, p. 214.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 214–22.

³⁵ See, for example, *Maryland Archives*, LIII, p. 426. References to the "contry duties" may also indicate dysentery. *Ibid.*, X, p. 15.

³⁶ Charles James to ?, Sept. 12, 1682, Testamentary Proceedings 12B, ff. 259–60; *The Reverend John Clayton*, p. 25; Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, p. 306.

³⁷ Testamentary Proceedings 7, f. 226; 9, ff. 312–400; 17, ff. 10, 11, 59, 65, 137, 138; Provincial Court Deeds, WRC no. 1, ff. 816, 833–34, 877, 878, ms., Hall of Records, Annapolis; *Maryland Archives*, XXII, p. 96.

³⁸ Duffy, *Epidemics in Colonial America*, pp. 187–88.

³⁹ Byrd to Sadlier and Thomas, Oct. 8, 1686; Byrd to Perry and Lane, Nov. 10, 1686, *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XXV (1917), pp. 133–34; *The Reverend John Clayton*, p. 26.

⁴⁰ For Maryland prices see Gloria Lund Main, *Measuring Wealth and Welfare: Explorations in the Use of Probate Records from Colonial Maryland and Massachusetts, 1650–1750* (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1973). For English prices see W. G. Hoskins, "Harvest Fluctuations and English Economic History, 1620–1759," *Agricultural History Review*, XVI (1968), pp. 15–31; J. T. Rogers, *A History of Agriculture and Prices in England* (London, 1887), V, pp. 666–73, 826–27.

have been unhealthy, but food was much too easily gathered or grown for there to be any crises of subsistence once settlement had been firmly established.⁴¹ Malnutrition probably contributed to the shortness of life, but it was the result of ignorance, not of a scarcity of food.

Most men who lived in Maryland in the early colonial period died well before they reached age fifty.⁴² Early death had a pervasive influence on the social history of the province, affecting processes as varied as the growth of population, opportunity, the accumulation and distribution of wealth, the formation of distinct, cohesive social groups, the demand for labor, the creation of stable political institutions, and the continuity of family life. In a frontier setting where men faced the hard task of building well-ordered communities in a wilderness, high mortality proved profoundly disruptive, an important source of the instability and uncertainty of life in the New World.

⁴¹ Edmund S. Morgan has recently questioned the traditional assumption that there was a subsistence crisis in Virginia in the 1620's. See "The First American Boom: Virginia 1618 to 1630," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., XXVIII (1971), pp. 169-98.

⁴² For the opinion of a contemporary observer that corroborates our finding, see the statement in Pargellis, ed., "An Account of the Indians in Virginia," p. 230, that Indians "seldom live longer than 40 or 50 years. Neither do the English who are born in Virginia live beyond that age ordinarily."

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

Marriages and Deaths from the Maryland Gazette, 1727-1839. Compiled by Robert Barnes. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1973. Pp. vi, 234. \$10.00.)

Genealogists of Maryland families are fortunate that another collection of frequently overlooked source records has been made readily available to them through the auspices of the Genealogical Publishing Company. The compiler, with his customary dedication, has carefully abstracted all the death and marriage notices in all extant copies of Maryland's oldest newspaper, which was first published in Annapolis in 1727. Approximately 3,000 items, alphabetically arranged, cover the period 1727 through 1839, with gaps from 1734 to 1745, 1777 to 1779, and in 1834 and 1836. A surname cross index to brides and others adds to the usefulness of the work and it is enhanced by a section attempting to identify the many clergymen mentioned in the marriage notices.

As novice genealogists used to more recent comprehensive obituaries (particularly in local weeklies) soon discover, the bulk of death notices in these early papers are quite terse and relate principally to persons of prominence in the community, colony, state, and nation. Annapolis citizens are, as expected, the most extensively represented. Maryland's common folk appear mainly when death is due to violent means, such as homicides, executions, or all sorts of accidents including dog bites, drownings, and windstorms, or because they reached an extraordinarily advanced age.

Some of this material can be found in articles by Christopher Johnson and George Martin in long out-of-print issues of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, and in a card file at the Hall of Records in Annapolis, but this publication puts it in a more complete and useful form for genealogists and historians.

Aberdeen

JON HARLAN LIVEZEY

The Winter Soldiers. By Richard M. Ketchum. (Garden City: Doubleday, 1973. Pp. 435. \$10.00.) *Men in Rebellion: Higher Governmental Leaders and the Coming of the American Revolution.* By James Kirby Martin. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1973. Pp. xiii, 263. \$12.50.)

Richard M. Ketchum of the *American Heritage* staff is no stranger to the American Revolution, having edited *The American Heritage Book of the Revolution* and written *The Battle for Bunker Hill*. If Mr. Ketchum is in fact a popularizer of history, it is in the best sense of that term. His books are noted for their readable style, their accuracy, and their inclusion of interesting, little-known detail. *The Winter Soldiers*, under consideration here, is a volume that well measures up to his previous endeavors.

The author repeats the story of those dark days of late 1776 when the American cause was at one of its lowest points in the war. New York City fell to General William Howe, as did the surrounding area, including Forts Washington and Mifflin on the lower Hudson River. Driven

northward from Manhattan, Washington after the brief Battle of White Plains crossed the Hudson and soon fell back through New Jersey, finding temporary safety on the Pennsylvania side of the Delaware River. All of this Ketchum traces, and more. For he cleverly develops a panoramic view of the times. One follows the planning and the campaigns as they were seen in London and in the Continental Congress, as well as from the vantage point of the fields of action.

Historians inevitably have their disagreements, if only at times in terms of emphasis or degree. I, for one, would question Ketchum's assertion that American attitudes toward the matter of independence were altered "drastically" by "the sudden, widespread acceptance of the ideas put forward in *Common Sense*." Several recent investigators have presented evidence to indicate that a considerable body of opinion was already moving in that direction before the publication of Paine's pamphlet. One might also balk—or ask for some evidence—at the statement that in America there was a transfer of loyalty from George III to George Washington.

In any event, Ketchum is at his best in narrating the Trenton and Princeton engagements, which brought the campaign of 1776 to an end and did much to revive American spirits after a year noted for disappointments and defeats from Canada to New York. He makes a strong case for the notion that Trenton and Princeton rather than Saratoga marked the real turning point in the struggle for independence; but I doubt whether Washington himself was quite as despondent as Ketchum thinks prior to his triumph at Trenton, whether he really meant his oft-quoted remark to his brother about the game being nearly up. (Other letters he wrote at that time would suggest that he was not.) All the same, many contemporaries would doubtless have agreed with the author's concluding sentence: "But never again, in all the long history of the war, would the dream of independence look so dim or unattainable as it had in the fading light of Christmas Day, 1776."

James K. Martin's *Men in Rebellion* is a very different kind of book, written by a professional historian employing new methodological approaches, including computerized research. Eschewing any singular causation theory of the coming of the Revolution, Martin nonetheless maintains that much of what occurred after 1763 may be seen as "a contest for power involving men in power." Of course Jack P. Greene and some other scholars have already told us that the power of the lower houses of assembly over their own internal affairs was threatened by innovations in imperial policies following the Seven Years' War. But in Martin's opinion there was an added dimension to the native Americans' "quest for power." They were not content with seats in the lower houses. Many of them at least aspired to other forms of officeholding, which the author defines as executive positions: governor, lieutenant governor, councilor, secretary, treasurer, attorney general, chief justice, and associate justice. Because the crown often filled these posts with placemen and because of plural officeholding at these top levels, relatively few colonial leaders in the royal and proprietary colonies had opportunities for such appointments. The result was a kind of "political immobility" that produced "pent-up frustrations," which in turn led to, or accentuated, "revolutionary behavior."

Assuredly, Martin's detailed research into the lives of "487 men intimately involved with the destruction of old and the formation of new governments" confirms what had long been recognized, albeit imprecisely: there were economic and social differences between colonial executives and later revolutionary executives, many of whom had been provincial assemblymen. The former possessed more wealth and more important family connections; and their

entrenched positions—they rarely experienced tenure limitations or rotation in office—goes far to explain why they failed to rebel against the authority of Great Britain.

But does this data prove that assemblymen in the late colonial period were really cramped and frustrated by their inability to obtain executive posts for themselves? Or was it that they experienced anxieties because they feared that the powers of their lower houses were slipping away before the onslaught of a host of novel British laws and regulations? At the same time, one may wonder whether the opening up of these executive positions in the new American state constitutions can be explained as a way to satisfy earlier thwarted drives. Indeed, there was likely no real alternative to making them elective, either directly or indirectly responsible to the people or their chosen representatives.

Anxieties and frustrations are hard at best to measure, even when psychiatrists have warm bodies to work with. How much more hazardous then is it to calculate such feelings and drives by means of statistical research, supported in this case by minimal literary evidence? My reservations are not meant to imply that none of the future revolutionaries demonstrated the attitudes that Martín seeks to describe. Several times, for instance, previous scholars have made such a point in regard to James Otis, Jr. Similar thinking may have helped to condition Samuel Johnston of North Carolina, his bitterness at seeing the office of colony chief justice elude him and fall to a placeman, Martin Howard, is not mentioned in this book.

The extensiveness of Martín's labors in the statistical mine and the originality of much that he says attest to a most creative mind. But, to this reviewer at least, while *Men in Rebellion* is a book of considerable value because of its data, its basic thesis is as yet unproven.

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

DON HIGGINBOTHAM

The Politics of a Literary Man: William Gilmore Simms. By Jon L. Wakelyn. (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing Company, 1973. Pp. xiv, 306. \$10.00.)

The relationship between our literature and our politics, the theme promised by the title of this book, has not been given much attention by American historians. The relationship, to be sure, is not a particularly close one. Unlike their European counterparts, American authors have seldom been thought of as politically dangerous. The writing of novels has generally been viewed as impractical, if not mildly aberrant, behavior, a harmless escape into the realm of fancy. Politics, on the other hand, is Real Life. When the novelist Gore Vidal ran for the House of Representatives some years ago, he told his audiences that, if elected, he would be the first novelist ever to serve in Congress. While his statement was not strictly accurate, it was true enough to the spirit of the situation. We do not ordinarily hand over the great affairs of state to romancers. Vidal was not, by the way, elected. And neither was James Michener nor Norman Mailer, two other novelists who recently tried to bridge the gap between literature and politics.

Professor Wakelyn is interested in the relationship between literature and politics, and he has chosen to focus his study on one writer and sometime politician, William Gilmore Simms. There is no disputing Simms's claim to be the most widely known man of letters in the Old South. Throughout a long career he turned out novels, poems, plays, essays, histories, biographies—whatever was needed at the moment—and his enormous output won him a large following. Nobody but the specialist reads him any more, but in his day he was a man to be reckoned with. His reputation, moreover, was not merely local. He had a wide circle of friends

throughout the Union, many of his books were published in the North, and he probably had more readers north than south. A literary career, however, was not enough for him. Simms was drawn irresistibly into the political life of his region, serving in the state legislature and churning out reams of copy for the party press.

Despite all this activity and accomplishment, Simms never seems to have received his due at the hands of history. He has, in fact, traditionally been the Southerner as victim, the intellectual thwarted by a hostile environment, the climber rebuffed by the elite. Professor Wakelyn, like many others curious about Simms, is dissatisfied with these explanations. They are too glib, too dismissive. Simms may have been a failure as a novelist. He may have been "neither an original political theorist nor a first-rate social analyst." Yet there must be something more to be said about Simms.

Professor Wakelyn feels that his subject's significance may lie in the relationship between the literary man and the political man, in "the intellectual's role in political activity." To this end he tells us a great deal about the local politics of South Carolina. The reader is given summaries of the articles Simms wrote for his various magazines, and the novels are mined for evidence of their author's political philosophy. The book bristles with facts. All of this is helpful and informative, but even the reader conditioned to the prose of much historical writing will find this book heavy going.

This study, interdisciplinary in method, may end up by dissatisfying the specialists for whom it is written. Readers interested in the literary man will not find much about Simms the artist to interest them. "He understood," Professor Wakelyn tells us, "that the artist's task was to defend the homeland." Defense, of course, is not the task of the artist but of the propagandist, and propaganda seldom outlives the occasion that called it forth. Readers interested in politics will fare somewhat better, but the relationship of politics to literature is never very seriously explored. Perhaps the fault lies with the subject. One wonders, finally, if Professor Wakelyn came in the course of his research to doubt the significance of Simms. He was, the author says in his introduction, "vulnerable to a peculiar kind of insularity which may have made him feel more important politically than he actually was in fact." By the time the reader has reached the end of this book, he may suspect that the author has come round to that view of his subject.

University of Delaware

CHARLES H. BOHNER

Mr. Polk's War: American Opposition and Dissent, 1846-1848. By John H. Schroeder. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1973. Pp. xvi, 184. \$12.50.)

Close students of the period will find little in the present work that is actually new. Though drawn from relevant manuscript and printed sources, the materials somehow seem very familiar. The contribution of the work lies rather in the way the materials are used, specifically in the force of two complementary emphases—its unrelenting focus upon the opponents to the Mexican War and the meaning of this activity as seen in the larger context of other wars.

At the outset Schroeder formulates the overall pattern of antiwar activity in American history. Opposition has normally arisen and flourished whenever the causes for involvement and the subsequent statement of war aims seemed questionable. The relative absence of opposition to World War II and the fury of dissent to the Viet Nam conflict define a spectrum of the American experience. Beyond this fairly obvious point Schroeder moves to the significant

conclusion that war opposition in Congress, where his chief concern is placed, has been a study in frustration and failure. Indeed, the three interrelated reasons for this frustration provide the basic organization for the present work. Because of presidential control over diplomacy and the military, first of all, war opponents have not been able to prevent the outbreak of hostilities. Secondly, the responsibility of conducting the war has confronted them with a cruel dilemma: while opposing the war and its aims they have felt compelled to vote supplies in order to protect the committed troops and the nation's honor. The political disaster that followed Federalist opposition to the War of 1812 has ever served as a grim admonition. Much of the frustration has come, finally, from the inability of war opponents to agree upon a viable alternative.

Opposition to the Mexican War clearly exhibits this pattern. In the first place, Congressional power over events was as nothing compared to the diplomatic initiatives of a president bent on fulfilling the nation's "manifest destiny." Though unwelcomed in Mexico President James K. Polk dispatched the Slidell Mission, and the aggressiveness of the act was compounded by the instructions demanding a Rio Grande boundary and the acquisition of New Mexico and California. Even before news of the mission's inevitable failure reached Washington, moreover, Polk ordered American troops to occupy disputed territory down to the Rio Grande. The ensuing clash of arms and the shedding of "American blood on American soil" thus made the call for war virtually irresistible. The form in which Polk asked Congress for a national commitment further underlined the frustration of opponents. While supposing that war had come by the act of Mexico, the president's message looked beyond the goal of repelling the invader to a vigorous prosecution of war to a "speedy and successful termination." As lodged in the preamble of a bill for military supplies, this concept clearly foreshadowed an aggressive war on Mexico and new territorial acquisitions. In voting for the bill Congress signed a blank check for presidential ventures which recent experience with the Gulf of Tonkin helps to make clear. Only fourteen in the House and two in the Senate voted against war, but the crux of the dilemma was best expressed by those who voted "Aye, except for the preamble."

Frustration ultimately lay in the inability of opponents to present a viable alternative, and Schroeder's analysis of three basic groups constitutes the best part of his work. The most radical group was made up of antislavery Whigs. From this group came the votes against war, against continuing supply, and in favor of immediate troop withdrawal. On the affirmative side they supported the Wilmot Proviso ban on slavery in any new area acquired from Mexico. Assuming that Mr. Polk's War had begun for the sole purpose of annexing new territory for slavery, they reasoned that the proviso, by removing this goal, would bring the war to a speedy conclusion. Opposition to the war of a far different cast came from John C. Calhoun and a few of his followers. Rejecting alike the radical call for troop withdrawal and Polk's aggressive war into the heart of Mexico, Calhoun would deploy American troops along a "defensive line" and leave the initiative with Mexico. But radicals were quick to point out that New Mexico and California were well within this line, indeed, that it comprehended virtually the same area originally sought by Polk and eventually incorporated in the final treaty. Worst of all to the radicals, Calhoun's outspoken proslavery views made him a greater enemy in some ways than Polk.

Conservative Whigs comprised the largest group of opponents to the war, but the grounds of their opposition illustrate still further the difficulty of concert among the dissenters. They somehow hoped to end the war without the annexation of new areas; and, however unrealistic this position of No Territory was as a political strategy, it did at least express their consistent and long-standing desire for internal improvement as the alternative to rapid expansion. It also reflected their fear that a bitter sectional controversy over slavery in new territory would surely

arise to threaten the order of the Union and the Whig party. Such was their dilemma, however, that these conservative instincts were overborne by still others which compelled them to vote supplies for continuing the war. A final frustration was involved in the support many gave to the Guadalupe-Hidalgo Treaty; yet the annexation of new territory was at least linked to the promise of real peace.

In addition to this effective analysis of the patterns of opposition, Schroeder does a good job with the politics of dissent. A little more perspective in two other regards, however, would have strengthened the work. He begins rather abruptly with the outbreak of hostilities in 1846, thus neglecting the profound roots of opposition that lay in the long-standing debate between Whig and Democrat over building "up" or spreading "out" the nation. Nor does he adequately incorporate leading secondary works and other interpretations. These might have tempered somewhat the distinct tendency to "presentism," for the Viet Nam tragedy clearly informs his perceptions. But this is not all bad. Viet Nam did help Schroeder to elucidate the experience of the Mexican War. Conversely, this work on the Mexican War will significantly add to the growing debate over America's present posture and the problems of the "imperial Presidency."

Memphis State University

MAJOR L. WILSON

The Politics of Continuity: Maryland Political Parties from 1858 to 1870. By Jean H. Baker. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973. Pp. xv, 239. \$11.00.)

With a few notable exceptions, historians have neglected Maryland's role in the era of the Civil War and Reconstruction. Recently a small number of excellent studies have appeared which enrich the historian's knowledge of Maryland in this period. To those written by Callcott and Wagandt, Professor Jean Baker of Goucher College now adds a study of political parties in Maryland from 1858 to 1870. Previously the historian had to cull information about Maryland's political parties during the Civil War and Reconstruction from sectional or national accounts. For both the general reader and the scholar, Baker's book is a welcome addition to Maryland's historical record.

Political issues and events leading to the Civil War produced realignments in political parties throughout the nation. Baker describes the realignment and transformation which occurred in Maryland. She argues that the war, despite the social and economic upheaval it brought, was not a pivotal point for Maryland's political parties. Party realignment had been completed by the eve of the conflict. The years of war and Reconstruction confirmed the changes effected in the late 1850s.

Between 1858 and 1860, both Democrats and Know-Nothings, taking a "new tack," transformed their parties. By demanding loyalty from leaders, developing strong local organizations, and stressing the need for election reform, fear of the free Negro, and devotion to the Constitution and the Union, Democrats were able to return to power in 1859. The Know-Nothing party was transformed into the Constitutional Union party by rejecting political nativism for support of the Union, but leadership, constituency, and organization were much the same. During the war years, Democrats lost control, not because their issues were rejected, but because their leaders and constituents left the state. Vigilant county organizations kept the Democratic party alive, and it constantly denounced the federal and state politics of the "trampled ballot."

While the Democrats were out of power, the Unionists (previously known as the

Know-Nothings and only in 1867 as Republicans) also followed the issues of the past, emphasizing loyalty to the Constitution and Union and attracting the same constituents. They branded the opposition as the party of treason and, except by the link of patronage, developed no ties to the national Republican party. Their strength was sapped by the appearance of factions which divided the party over the future of slavery and the free Negro. In 1864 Unionists narrowly obtained victory for a new state constitution and for Lincoln's reelection to the presidency; the Democrats made gains in the state. By 1866 the Democrats were back in power with the same prewar leaders, constituencies, issues, and party structure. They secured another state constitution and rebuffed attempts to create a new conservative party. Using the themes of the constitution as it was, the Union as it was, and Negroes where they were, they held control by "the politics of the past" until 1870, when Negroes registered and voted. Then new concerns, constituents, and party organization transformed "the politics of continuity."

If a weakness exists in this study which is well-researched, organized, and written, it is that the thesis of continuity is pressed too hard. The factional division in Unionism and the constitution of 1864 do not lend themselves very well to the thesis which emphasizes continuity. And the problem is a matter of emphasis, not evidence or basic interpretation. The Unionist factions appeared and the constitution was written in response to changes created by the war and the needs of Reconstruction. Montgomery Blair and Henry Winter Davis thrived on and enjoyed squabbles, but their differences over political ideology and strategy regarding emancipation, the free Negro, and Reconstruction should not be written off as "squabbles." (p. 102) Nor should the division within Unionism be attributed to "a legacy of prewar confusion among Know-Nothings, Constitutional Unionists, and Republicans." (p. 110) The ultimate success of Reconstruction was at stake, and Davis and his Unconditional Unionist supporters wanted change for the future, not continuity of past politics, whether it was for justice to the Negro or for political expediency to secure the future of the Union-Republican party. If the 1864 constitutional directions were indeed "familiar byways," one questions why the uproar over the oath of past loyalty, the registry law, and the public school provisions. If the changes were "skin-deep, not organic," why was the soldiers' vote necessary to save the 1864 constitution? Wagandt has called the struggle for emancipation waged by the Unionists a revolution, a great social revolution. Slavery in Maryland may have been accepted as dead, as Professor Baker claims, but there were contradictions in the apprenticeship system, in the removal of the phrase that all men were created free and equal from the constitution of 1867, and in the opposition to the Civil War amendments. In great measure, as Baker shows, fear of the Negro accounts for the practice and success of past politics in Maryland.

There are other aspects of this study worth noting. Baker treats the organization of parties from ward, district, and county, to central committee. She also finds that party loyalty transcended state regional loyalty, that parties emphasized national issues and neglected local issues, that economic issues did not divide the parties, and that Negrophobia was non-partisan. She indicates that the closeness of the vote in the 1864 presidential election was due less to military interference than to absence from the polls caused by the oath of past loyalty. In Maryland in 1864, contrary to the pattern in other states, towns and cities supported Lincoln, not the rural farming areas. The Unionist presidential vote came from areas that previously supported the Know-Nothing party, another sign Professor Baker says of the state's loyalty to the past.

Professor Baker has used the newer quantitative techniques as well as the traditional sources of the historian. Twenty-one appendix tables summarize the quantitative findings regarding legislative roll calls and present information as to age, property, slaveholdings, and occupation

of the leaders of the parties. Professor Baker has made a valuable contribution to the political history of Maryland and to that of the Civil War and Reconstruction as well.

Towson State College

MARY CATHERINE KAHL

Immigrants, Baptists, and the Protestant Mind in America. By Lawrence B. Davis. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973. Pp. 230. \$8.95.)

By focusing on Northern Baptist attitudes toward immigrants from 1880 to 1925, Lawrence B. Davis's *Immigrants, Baptists, and the Protestant Mind in America* captures the anguish of old-stock Protestants faced with a world they did not completely understand. Northern Baptists, typical in many ways of those who had dominated America since its inception, envisioned "a Christian civilization on the North American continent." (p. 2) The massive immigration of the 1880s threatened this dream, for it inundated the United States with millions of strangers who spoke alien tongues and served "false" gods. Yet at first Baptists welcomed the newcomers from southern and eastern Europe, believing that God had brought them here to facilitate their conversion. By the 1890s this enthusiasm had been dulled by countless assaults on the intransigent Roman Catholicism, Eastern Orthodoxy, and Judaism of the "new" immigrants. Faced with failure, some Baptists petitioned the government to shut off the stream of "undesirables." But the slow conversion of new Americans to the Baptist faith in the early twentieth century tempered this hostility. Until World War I attitudes remained mixed, with the voices of enlightenment slowly gaining the ascendancy. The years 1914 to 1925 saw "the flowering of Baptist cosmopolitanism," for in this period the denomination resisted the virulent nativism sweeping the country. By the mid 'twenties Northern Baptists had come full circle; once again, as in the 1880s, they viewed the influx of immigrants as God's way of aiding Baptists in winning lost souls.

Aside from its wealth of information, this book commends itself for a number of reasons. Avoiding the denominational history trap, Davis closely relates his material to the general history of the period. This appears in his treatment of Baptists within the context of a larger American attempt to cope with an emerging urban, industrial culture. Equally helpful, Davis offers a broader religious perspective by frequently comparing Baptists with other Protestants. One of the book's strongest points is the author's refusal to view his characters as participants in a struggle between the children of light and their benighted opponents. Davis warns that the word "prejudiced" inadequately describes Baptists who clung to the dream of a Protestant civilization. He displays similar sensitivity in discussing the impact of the social gospel on Baptist thinking. The standard treatment of this usually has the social gospellers, or "liberals," arrayed on the side of enlightenment, with the "conservatives," later "fundamentalists," entangled in bigotry. In rejecting this view Davis helps to rescue religious conservatives from the outer darkness of American history, for, as he demonstrates, liberals and conservatives appeared on both sides of the argument over immigration.

This study contains two major flaws, neither of which seriously undermines its worth. First, Davis relies largely on denominational periodicals; the paucity of other sources is disappointing. Periodicals provide valuable information for studying religious history, but they generally contain the views of highly literate churchmen. Is Davis really talking about Northern Baptists, or is he more properly dealing with the denomination's elite? When he speaks of "many" Baptists just how many does he mean? A second and more serious problem arises from Davis's

exclusion of Southern Baptists, which he justifies on the grounds that the denominational press "had little or nothing to say about such issues as immigration." (p. 8n) Southern periodicals may not contain as much information as their northern counterparts, but does this warrant the omission of such an important group of Baptists? The presence of Roman Catholic immigrants greatly agitated Southern Baptists after World War I, as their periodicals, books, convention records, and manuscript correspondence show. Their attitudes bore little trace of the "cosmopolitanism" Davis found in the North. More often, they agreed with the warning offered by a Virginia social service report in 1919 that immigrants "constituted a hotbed for heresies, bad thinking, bad morals and false ideals." Surely Davis could have profitably compared Northern and Southern Baptists. Too often the South's Baptists have been written off by historians because they do not fit carefully wrought theses; Davis's book represents an unfortunate continuation of this practice.

But to return to a positive note: Lawrence B. Davis has written an informative book that students of American social and intellectual history will find highly useful.

The College of William and Mary

JAMES J. THOMPSON, JR.

Booker T. Washington: The Making of a Black Leader, 1856-1901. By Louis R. Harlan. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972. Pp. xi, 379. \$10.95.)

The revisionist view of Washington, which has been in vogue since the mid-sixties, is ably presented in this portrayal of the black hero "from birth to the plateau of his power and influence in 1901." A sequel treating his career at its zenith is promised. Placing the race leader within the context of his own times, Professor Harlan of the University of Maryland, editor of the Booker T. Washington Papers, concludes that while Washington publicly accepted segregation, counseled humility, and opposed black militancy, he maintained "an elaborate private life in which he changed roles with the skill of a magician." Complex and enigmatic, he was both man and myth, a puzzling dichotomy. The author, endeavoring to rescue Washington from the "Uncle Tom" stereotype, focuses on the driving racial purpose behind his activities and the conditions which dictated his tactics. Mining the rich collection of Washington Papers in the Library of Congress and consulting an extraordinary variety of other contemporary sources, Harlan searches out Washington's obscure origins and closely examines his experiences. The product, needless to say, is a careful biography and a welcome complement to the two volumes of the Washington Papers now in print.

In 1901, the year he dined with President Theodore Roosevelt at the White House, Washington published his autobiography. A saga of success, *Up from Slavery* described how he, through self-help and the aid of benevolent whites, triumphed over poverty and ignorance to become the chief spokesman of his race. Harlan, with an unerring eye for detail, does not significantly change the progression of the story, for he knows that the real Washington is inseparable from it. Born in 1856 near Hale's Ford, Virginia, Booker learned "from childhood to deceive, to simulate, to wear the mask." Of unknown paternity, his world consisted of "an affectionate mother," Jane, a brother, John, seven other slaves on the Burroughs farm, and extremely rural Franklin County, where tobacco was the cash crop. Nine years in bondage, he did not wear shoes until he was eight. He might have acquired basic decorum from the Burroughses' mealtime conversations as he fanned flies from the table, but seeing whippings and

bondsmen outwitting their masters made more lasting impressions upon him. Christmas provided the slaves a brief respite from plantation rigors; the Civil War and emancipation gave them hope for a better life.

Race conflict was rampant in Malden, West Virginia, near Charleston. Booker, now Viola Ruffner's houseboy, got thorough exposure to "the Puritan ethic of hard work, cleanliness and thrift." At Hampton he was saturated in the doctrines of General Samuel C. Armstrong: moral character, strict discipline, and political conservatism. He institutionalized these values on his own terms when he founded Tuskegee in 1881, employing "interracial diplomacy" to gain white support. The school specialized in manual arts; students earned their own keep. Washington solicited funds in the North while cultivating the good will of white conservatives in the South. When he failed to protect openly Tom Harris from a white lynch mob in 1895, though he secretly helped the local black rebel to escape, Washington suffered a "loss of innocence." The latter seemed more bearable, however, than the death of two wives, Fanny in 1884 and Olivia in 1889, "leaving behind three motherless children and an utterly distraught husband." Margaret, his third wife, tried to fill the tragic void. There were close black friends, among them journalist T. Thomas Fortune, but Washington eschewed radical black movements.

On the other hand, he wooed southern black farmers and workers through the Tuskegee Negro Conferences and gained a loyal following within the black middle class. The Atlanta speech of 1895 catapulted him into national prominence, reiterating the need for friendly race relations, economic advancement, and self-help which he had been preaching for over a decade. As racism escalated, together with black criticism of his methods, Washington consolidated his position by organizing the Tuskegee Machine, an intricate alliance of black institutions which controlled newspapers, the Afro-American Council, the National Negro Business League, and held a virtual veto over northern philanthropy to black education. Not surprisingly, Washington was more the dictator than the democrat at Tuskegee, feared as much as he was respected. He opposed disfranchisement in the South, surreptitiously financing a test case in Alabama. As this venture and similar ones failed, he retreated to the more moderate tactic of advocating the franchise for intelligent blacks. Coming when it did, dinner at the White House temporarily silenced his northern black enemies and gave him new standing with his white benefactors.

From beginning to end the book is touchingly human. It is doubtful that Washington ever lost sight of his purpose of uplift, but he did face a serious crisis of means. Judging the mood of the South and nation, he saw no alternative to compromise, except being lynched. His dilemma still plagues black leadership. (Compromise for the oppressed might mean survival; it cannot insure steady progress and equality with the strong.) If a succession of white people gave Washington the symbols of leadership, black people gave him substance. If he represented "the white hope," he personified black self-help. Deceptive, often ruthless but never repulsive, he cannot be understood apart from the duality Harlan projects so well.

Duke University

RAYMOND GAVINS

Frederick Jackson Turner: Historian, Scholar, Teacher. By Ray Allen Billington. (New York: Oxford, 1973. Pp. x, 599. \$17.50.)

Frederick Jackson Turner is probably the most written-about, if not the most read, American historian. Ray Allen Billington, who in the past decade has written several important articles on

Turner, now has completed his biography. I am almost tempted to add "long awaited," for American historians harbor a particular interest in Turner, who, because he charted new areas of interpretation and research invites criticism and discussion.

Turner was born in 1861 in Portage, Wisconsin, a town barely removed from the excitement and the dangers of the frontier. He attended the University of Wisconsin, where a master teacher, William Francis Allen, introduced him to historical studies. Of Allen, Turner later wrote, "I have never, in Johns Hopkins or elsewhere, seen his equal as a scholar." After graduation from Wisconsin, Turner went to the graduate school at Johns Hopkins, there to sharpen his professionalism and his perceptions in Herbert Baxter Adams's seminar. He then returned to Wisconsin, teaching there until forced out by certain backward elements in 1910. From Wisconsin he went to Harvard, where, although he enhanced his reputation, he was not particularly happy. After retirement he made his way to the Huntington Library, there to work on *THE BOOK*, as he termed it, until his death in 1932.

Billington felicitously threads Turner's personal life through learned discussions of his contributions to historical thought. In the chapter "The Genesis of the Frontier Thesis," he reveals Turner the student and synthesizer. While the idea was part of the American consciousness, as Turner put it, the famous thesis was the product of extensive reading in the geography and statistics of the United States and of the publications of leading economic and political theorists. Among others, he read the French writers Emile Boutmy and Andre Churillon, who argued that the abundance of land in the United States contributed to the growth of political democracy. He was particularly impressed by Walter Bagehot's *Physics and Politics*, in which Bagehot stated that the American character was the product of the long struggle against the forests of North America. But the greatest influence seemed to be the Italian political economist, Achille Loria, who posited the idea that behavior was closely related to the availability of "free land." It was this abundance of "free land," *i.e.*, land yet undeveloped, that governed American history. And the exhaustion of this free land would greatly inhibit the free movement of peoples, who would become tied to the wealthy interests who controlled the farming and industry. These stimulating ideas from many sources and much hard work by young Turner led to the famous essay, "The Effect of the Frontier on American History," delivered before an indifferent audience of historians in Chicago in 1893.

If the paper read at Chicago stirred little immediate interest, it became one of the most influential in American historiography, inspiring literally hundreds of efforts to sustain, and, more often in recent years, to destroy it. As for Turner, he devoted much of his time to popularizing his theory, through speeches before both scholarly and public gatherings, through articles and reviews, and particularly through his students at Wisconsin. During the last decade of the nineteenth century, when Turner was still in his thirties, he trained in his seminar: Carl Becker, Joseph Schafer, Herbert Eugene Bolton, William J. Hocking, Louise P. Kellogg, Guy Stanton Ford, and William S. Robertson. The fame of these students and many others in the years to follow at Madison and Cambridge secured Turner's reputation but more immediate was the intervention of already established scholars, the most famous being Woodrow Wilson, whom Turner had met at Johns Hopkins and with whom he remained on friendly terms. Wilson remembered their long talks on the West while in Baltimore and stressed the importance of the frontier and the West in reviews and articles. As Billington puts it, Wilson out-Turnered Turner. The wide dissemination of the thesis brought fame to the young historian but at times the popularization led to overstatements which later haunted Turner and his supporters.

If one "thesis" was not enough for Turner he turned to other areas, and especially to the

study of sections in American history. He argued that sections in the United States were comparable to countries in Europe, and the interplay, social and economic and political, between them accounted for the directions taken in American history. It was this theme that preoccupied Turner during the last half of his career.

These scholarly contributions of Turner scarcely need elaboration here. But the thread that gives Billington's book its value is the exposition of Turner the teacher and the man. Billington decided fairly early in his research to write the biography of a college professor. Hence, the detail given to Turner's trials and tribulations with students, administrators, boards of trustees, publishers, his family life and so on, the matters that occupy and preoccupy so many historians to their advantage or disadvantage. For example, Turner was the beau ideal of his graduate students, but as a rule undergraduates did not flock to his lecture courses. They seemed to be too detailed, too erudite, and, surprisingly, considering the subject matter, not particularly entertaining. Billington gives much space to Turner's inability to complete books, despite the best of intentions and a number of signed contracts with leading publishing houses. He devotes a most interesting chapter to the great rebellion within the ranks of the American Historical Association in 1915, the attempt led by Frederic Bancroft to wrest the control of the Association from an elite or Establishment personified by Turner, J. Franklin Jameson, and certain others at the apex of the professional pyramid. Billington's sympathies here are clearly with the Establishment. Another of Turner's battles, one that will strike a responsive chord with many readers, was his attempt to de-emphasize football at the University of Wisconsin in 1905-1906. Turner's efforts to reduce the professional aspects of athletics met the same vigorous, often hysterical resistance that such attempts meet today. He was hanged in effigy, harangued by a mob of students in his own front yard, sneered at by sportswriters, and finally beaten by the University trustees, an ironic conclusion since Turner helped bring football to the campus when he himself was an undergraduate.

Another aspect of Turner the man that Billington illuminates, at least by implication, is his perception of society. An illustration involves Turner's wife, Mae, or "little Mae," as he affectionately called her. When they first were married Mae went home to Mama because she didn't like living in a boarding house, in which, it seems, Turner, an ABD instructor at Wisconsin, had secured rooms for them. So, young Turner went househunting and finally found one to rent. "This must be properly prepared before Turner could ask Mae to join him; there was a stove to buy, a full-time maid to be hired, the floors stained a color that would please her. Fred Turner was desperately lonely as he went about these tasks, but by the end of January all was ready, and the Turners were able to set up housekeeping in their own home." This set a pattern. Not until Turner retired did Mae do more than nominal housework. Through all the years of limited income, the Turners kept a maid, sometimes two. The question that begs asking is, how much did they pay the maid? But Turner the man, and Turner the historian, did not bother with that class of society. Turner the "Jacksonian" shared the racial and social biases of his class and time. He excluded Negroes from his history (at one point he suggested that the Fifteenth Amendment was a mistake); Indians were merely a retarding influence in the "advance of civilization." And when he moved to the East he abhorred the idea of "Harvard a New Jerusalem and Boston already a New Cork." As Billington appropriately states, "Turner's attitude toward minorities was unfortunately consistent. . . ."

There is much more to Turner, of course, and much more to the book. It is detailed, sometimes repetitious, and often provocative, perhaps unintentionally so. It is based upon the voluminous Turner papers at the Huntington, the most striking of which are his letters to

colleagues and students, and, of all things, lecture notes kept by students at Wisconsin and Harvard. For Turner was a man affectionately disposed toward his students and colleagues—not in a sentimental manner but in the values and activities of his personal and professional life. Thus, his last spoken words were of his regret to his close friend Max Farrand that he had not finished “the book.” And on the morning of the day of his death he had sent some citations of sources to a former student who had asked his advice on a writing project. As Billington so aptly comments: “Those were the last words written by Turner. Typically, they were to a student engaged in a worthy historical task.”

Kent State University

JOHN T. HUBBELL

The Money Manias: The Eras Of Great Speculation In America, 1770–1970. By Robert Sobel. (New York: Weybright and Talley, 1973. Pp. xvii, 397. \$9.95.)

Economic history designed for the popular market is almost of necessity sensationalistic—dealing with crashes, swindles, and colorful operators—and its success in the market is normally in inverse ratio to its quality as history. Not so the present work; *The Money Manias* enlightens as well as entertains.

A few demurrers should be entered, for there are some mistakes and also some lapses into craftsmanship which is less than fastidious. In the opening essay, for example, Professor Sobel has a Philadelphia firm in “receivership” long before that form of coping with insolvency had evolved. Similarly, he refers (p. 48) to “laissez-faire Jeffersonianism” after having just told us (p. 41) that the Jefferson administration spent more, as a percentage of the GNP, on arts, education, and economic projects than any other administration before or since. He has Andrew Jackson up for re-election in 1836, tells us C. C. Pinckney represented Virginia instead of South Carolina in the Constitutional Convention, and depicts Maryland as an early center of the cotton-growing boom.

Even so, the book on the whole is potent and effective. Its overall design is difficult to describe in brief compass: it is not (as its title and jacket blurb would suggest) an update of Charles Mackay’s classic *Extraordinary Popular Delusions*, nor is it a mere account of great speculators and wheeler-dealers who have exploited America’s endemic money manias. Rather, Sobel sets out to capture the essence of the enthusiasm and main-chance mentality with which Americans have periodically overreacted to a succession of major economic developments—including westward expansion, canal building, the spread of slavery, gold and silver-mining, steel production, oil discovery and refining, Florida land-jobbing, and the emergence of modern conglomerates.

By and large, he succeeds. To be sure, he is more at home (as he has demonstrated in earlier works) in dealing with the years after 1860 than with those before; indeed, though his opening chapter on colonial land speculations is excellent, that on the canal boom is shaky and the one on slave trading, though perhaps of special interest to Maryland readers, is of questionable soundness and seems almost dragged into the book. But from his chapter called “The Comstock Lode” onward, Sobel is brilliant.

In sum, while the work is somewhat less precisely accurate than the best of narrow historical monographs, it is far more readable; and while it affords somewhat less colorful reading than the works of such authors as Matthew Josephson and Stewart Holbrook, it is far more reliable. One can read it for fun, and emerge with an improved understanding of *homo Americanus*.

Wayne State University

FORREST McDONALD

A Religious History of the American People. By Sydney E. Ahlstrom. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1972. Pp. xvi, 1158. \$19.50.)

Despite their virtues, the four standard one-volume histories of religion in America—those of W. W. Sweet, Clifton E. Ohmstead, Winthrop S. Hudson, and Edwin S. Gaustad—suffered from brevity and incompleteness. The subject is simply too large and complex to be covered adequately in a single volume of average length. For more extensive treatment one has had to turn to numerous denominational histories and the old *American Church History Series* (13 volumes, 1893–1897). None of these was in the mold of intellectual history. This is why Ahlstrom's book has been long awaited, and its size makes the delay understandable. He has conceived his subject in the widest sense, from the European background of American faiths to the modern influence of Eastern religions. Chronologically the book sweeps from the first American settlements of Catholic Spain to the "Turbulent Sixties." Within these bounds Ahlstrom is encyclopedic, omitting no important person, movement, or event. And the book, in nine parts and sixty-three chapters, is written on a scale large enough to allow the author a depth of discussion that matches his descriptive breadth. That is quite an accomplishment.

A Religious History of the American People proves Ahlstrom to be a scholar of heroic industry and erudition. He seems to have read every significant publication in the field of American religious history. His skillful compilation of this body of scholarship into one readable whole is a significant achievement. Here, conveniently summarized, is the fruit of generations of study. Yet at times this dependence upon the secondary literature is a weakness, for Ahlstrom has fewer independent judgments than one might have hoped. Those familiar with portions of the literature upon which Ahlstrom's work is based will recognize its derivative nature. Where previous scholarship has been scanty or of limited merit, Ahlstrom mirrors that failure. The general reader will applaud his all-inclusiveness, while the specialist will wish for a more penetrating synthesis. There is no dominant interpretative theme, no brilliant new insight that unifies the book. Rather than a religious history, it is a history of religion in America.

The work is also of uneven quality. Ahlstrom is at his best when discussing religious developments in New England, and unlike the previous one-volume histories, his book shows that he fully appreciates the causative role of religious beliefs. Even though he sometimes fails to explain sufficiently and precisely the complicated shifts in theology, his is the first general history of religion in America to give ideas a prominent place. But his treatment of movements and thought outside of traditional New England is not as satisfactory. His discussions of black religion, religion in the South, pentecostalism, Mormonism, and in general the less genteel or intellectual religious beliefs are the weakest portions of the book. Partly this is to be blamed on the caliber of the secondary literature, but it also represents a kind of elitism common to intellectual history.

These criticisms are not meant to deny the contribution Ahlstrom's work makes to American history. The most difficult task of the historian is the creation of a sophisticated synthesis of an entire field of scholarship. Few attempt it; fewer still succeed as well as Ahlstrom. He conceived the task broadly, and came to command an enormous body of material. He keeps his information well under control, and his narrative skill sustains the book's great length. Too long for the general reader, too general for the specialist, this book's intended audience is uncertain. It is unlikely that anyone else will try to duplicate Ahlstrom's efforts on such a scale. Brief, provocative analyses are still needed, but as a complete and accurate survey, this book should dominate the field for our generation at least.

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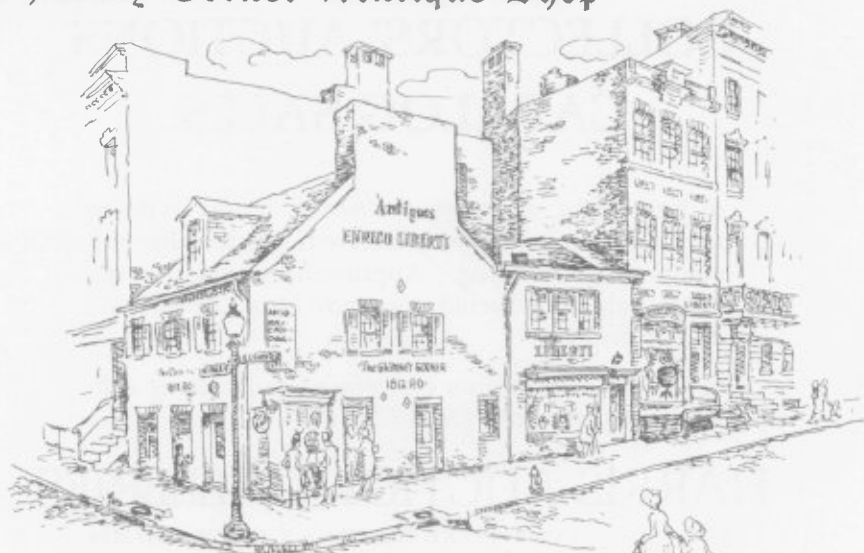
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